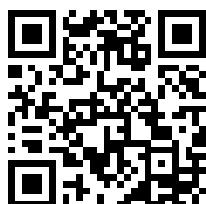


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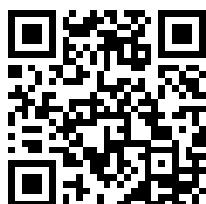


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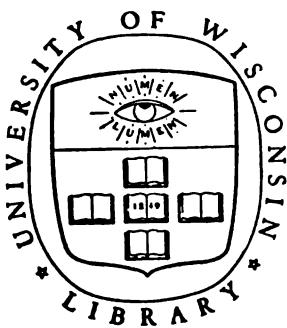
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# QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

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VOL. VI.

JULY, 1898.

No. I

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All articles intending for publication, books for review, exchanges,—and all correspondence relating thereto—should be addressed to the editors, Box A, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

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## TRUSTS, COMBINES AND MONOPOLIES.

THE subject of discussion this evening\* has attracted much attention in recent years; it has been the theme of eloquent denunciation from the pulpit; it has been taken up by the press of all shades of political and religious opinion and made a popular question, and has formed an important issue in a great political campaign. Such a subject must have something in it worthy of consideration and will well repay the time spent in seeking to arrive at a knowledge of its nature and requirements.

When economic problems become matters of popular discussion and questions of political policy, the calm judicial attitude usually gives place to the more heated and impressive but less rational methods of the political arena. The denunciatory is the favorite form of expression. Prejudice takes the place of research, sentiment and passion unseat judgment, and points are made by a process of reasoning which scorns the trammels of ordinary logic. Such have been the methods pursued by most of those writing or speaking on "Trusts and Combines" for popular instruction, and their utterances have been in the main decidedly hostile. As an illustration, the words of a populist member of Congress will serve as well as any. After quoting from *Revelation* John's description of the vision in which the great red dragon appeared, he deals with "trusts" as follows:—

\*This paper was read at the Conference of Theological Alumni of Queen's University.

"A greater, a more terrible, a more powerful dragon than John saw is now walking up and down the earth. His home is in America. He has drawn a part of the Senators and Congressmen after him, and they are being dragged through the mire and slums and filth of hell. This old dragon is named "Trust," or "Monopoly." He has many heads, and on each head is a crown of gold. He has the country in his terrible clutches, and his hideous body, huge and ponderous, but hungry, lean and cadaverous, stretches across the continent, while his hydra heads reach out in all directions, feeding on and consuming everything within his reach. He has stretched out one of his massive paws, and now the United States Senate writhes in his grasp. His greedy, glittering eyes are fixed upon great heaps of gold, and he licks out his many tongues and smacks his lips, and knowingly wags his various heads when it is proposed to enact any laws inimical to his interest. One head is the Coal Oil Trust, another the Whiskey Trust, another the Lead Trust, and greatest and mightiest of all is the Sugar Trust.

The Tariff Bill, which passed the House, did not meet the approval of the old red dragon, but he fixed his eyes knowingly on the Senate and licked his chops in a kind of fiendish glee as the American people declared that the old stuffed fraud, the thief, the robber, the Sugar Trust was downed."

Appeals of this kind, addressed to a people conscious of hard times and bankruptcy, but ignorant as to the real causes thereof, cannot fail to stir up hatred, all the more intense because it is irrational. "Trusts" may be bad, and dangerous, but even if so, their condemnation should rest on something firmer than a mere appeal to passion. The people should not be left for instruction in matters of this kind to the shallow agitator or stump politician. It is the duty of those to whom men naturally look for instruction to study these problems and give the results of their calmer judgment and more careful research to the people, in place of such extreme and irritating statements as that quoted.

As one might expect, exact definition or careful discrimination has not characterized the more popular discussion of this subject. The words Trust, Combine, Monopoly, Ring, Pool, Syndicate, Corner, have been used, almost as if synonymous, with the result that the "Trust" has been forced to bear the iniquities of all sorts of illegitimate speculation and gambling, with which it had nothing whatever to do. Many so-called

trusts are not trusts at all, but something else. We must, therefore, at the outset, come to an understanding as to what we mean by each of the three words which form our subject.

To possess a monopoly in anything of economic value is to have such control over its available sources of supply as to be able, materially, to affect its market value. The Combine is a particular form of monopoly, and the "Trust" is a special form of "Combine." A quotation from J. S. Jeans' book on *Trusts, Pools and Corners* will make sufficiently clear for the present the difference between a Combine and a Trust. He says :

"The original idea of a Syndicate" (or Combine) "appears to have been that producers should come to an understanding among themselves as to how much each should produce, and what common price should be charged to the public. Each producer, however, was left with absolute control over his own business in other respects. On the face of it this would appear to be the most natural and satisfactory arrangement for all parties. And so indeed it would have been if all alike had been equally loyal and trustworthy. But it was found difficult to keep all the parties to such a compact true to the spirit as well as the letter of the bond. The combination suffered in not a few cases from the bad faith of its individual members, some of whom either undersold the combination rate or produced quantities in excess of that provided for by regulation. It was for the purpose of avoiding such possible acts of bad faith on the part of the individual members of a combination that the American institution known as a trust was established. The fundamental idea of a trust is that the affairs of all its individual members shall be absolutely controlled by the organization and *for* the organization. In order to do this, of course, it is necessary that the trust shall do more than merely control production and price, although that may be, and generally is, the sole *raison d'être* of the combination. The trust must be virtual, if not the absolute, owner of all the properties or concerns that are parties to the compact."

In accomplishing this the principle followed is the one with which we are more familiar in the management of the estates of infants and insolvents. But as the law declares all contracts in restraint of competition to be against public policy and illegal, various subterfuges have to be tried in order to avoid this danger, and externally, therefore, trusts take many forms.

Much of the current discussion on the subject would lead

one to imagine that monopolies in trade are an entirely new growth, whose seeds were sown within the last decade. A glance at history, however, reveals the fact that trade monopolies are hoary with antiquity. Even in the earliest scripture records we are told of a tremendous corner in wheat, whereby one Joseph, of the Egyptian Stock Exchange, won fame for himself and brought great gain to his firm, the head of which belonged to the old Pharoah family, a family afterward famed for its sharp practices and meeting with severe censure from the Hebrew scribes as a "bloated monopolist and oppressor of labour." In fact, there is a quite modern ring in the account of how Pharoah underpaid and overworked his people, and how he forced them to "scamp" their work by refusing to supply proper materials. No doubt, too, were the narrative continued into such matters, we should find that he monopolized the brick-making business, keeping the price up and the quality down, to the great detriment of the public and the rapid enrichment of his coffers. And could we interview the organizing secretary of the "Egyptian Knights of the Trowel," we should certainly hear sad tales of the evils of non-union labour and denunciation of the "scab" workmen from the land of Goshen.

Coming down to later history, we find that the granting of monopolies was one of the most valuable perquisites of the English crown, and we hear of strong protests from the English Parliament against the monopolies in restraint of trade under Elizabeth and Charles I. "Nothing more remarkable," says Hallam,\* referring to the Parliaments of 1597 and 1601, "occurs in the former of these sessions than an address to the Queen against the enormous abuse of monopolies. The crown either possessed or assumed the prerogative of regulating almost all matters of commerce at its discretion. Patents to deal exclusively in particular articles, generally of foreign growth, but reaching in some instances to such important necessities of life as salt, leather and coal had been lavishly granted to the courtiers with little direct advantage to the revenue. They sold them to companies of merchants, who, of course, enhanced the price to the utmost ability of the purchaser."

\**Constitutional History*, chap v.

Green, in speaking of Charles I., says\*: "Monopolies abandoned by Elizabeth and extinguished by act of parliament under James were again set on foot, and on a scale far more gigantic than had been seen before; the companies who undertook them paying a fixed duty on their profits as well as a large sum for the original concession of the monopoly. Wine, soap, salt, and almost every article of domestic consumption fell into the hands of monopolies and rose in price out of all proportion to the profit gained by the crown." And an extract from a speech on the subject, delivered in the Long Parliament by Colepepper, reads like an editorial against departmental stores by the versatile editor of *Saturday Night*. "They sup in our cup," he cries indignantly, "they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-vat, the wash-bowls and the powdering-tub. They share with the cutler in his box. They have marked and sealed us from head to foot." Monopolies in trade then existed long before our time, and seem to have caused much outcry and considerable oppression in those early days. Many of them, too, far from coming as the result of certain movements in industry, arose by arbitrary enactment on the part of the crown. Yet, it was their perversion that caused the trouble, for they had their origin in the necessity that trade should be regulated as to purity of goods, honest measurement and weight, etc. But they opened up so tempting a field for revenue and patronage that their abuse was inevitable. And how were these evils remedied? By removing restrictions, by giving greater freedom in trade, and refusing special privileges to certain classes. Combinations and monopolies have changed greatly in form with the changes in industrial conditions, but some of the principles underlying the old monopolies are still applicable, and there are still men who have not learned the lesson, that restrictions put upon industry or commerce foster privileged classes and monopoly prices.

The monopolies of which we have just been speaking were not as a rule natural growths, arising out of the conditions of industry: they were established by arbitrary enactment and could usually be removed in the same way. The

\**Short History of the English People.*

industry of the times did not call for large capital. It was the day of the small artificer and his apprentices, of the workshop and the hand-loom. The workshops were scattered over the country and disposed of much of their output in the immediate vicinity. The country carding mill and the rag carpet loom are isolated examples to-day of industrial conditions which were the rule two hundred years ago. When capital was in so dispersed a state great combinations of capitalists to prevent competition and raise prices were impossible. Within a little more than a century, however, all this has changed. The movement began about 1760 with the invention in rapid succession of a number of machines which revolutionized the cotton and woollen trade. Watt soon afterwards made useful for practical purposes the steam-engine, and a little later began that improvement in the means of inter-communication and transport which in its advances has quite kept pace with the increase in manufacturing power. To take advantage of such possibilities, however, consolidation became absolutely necessary, and the history of industry from that day to this is the history of successive steps in concentration among both capitalists and labourers. The process of change and its results are clearly outlined by Baker in his *Monopolies and the People*, as follows :—

“ In order to realize the greatest benefit from these devices it has become necessary to concentrate our manufacturing operations in enormous factories ; to collect under one roof a thousand workmen, increase their efficiency tenfold by the use of modern machinery, and distribute the products of their labour to the markets of the civilized world. The agency which has acted to bring about this result is competition. The large workshops were able to make goods so much cheaper than the small workshops that the latter disappeared. Then, one by one, the larger workshops were built up into factories, or were shut up because the factories could make goods at less cost. So the growth has gone on, and each advance in carrying on production on a larger scale has resulted in lessening the cost of the finished goods. Competition, too, which at first was merely an unseen force among the scattered workshops, is now a fierce rivalry ; each great firm strives for the lion's share of the market. Under these conditions it is quite natural that attempts should be made to check the reduction of profits by some form of agreement to limit competition.

Many attempts have been tried, which attempted to effect this by mere agreements and contracts, methods which left each property to the control of its special owners, but none have been permanently successful. By the trust plan of combination the properties are practically consolidated, and the failure of the combination through withdrawal of its members is avoided. It offers to manufacturers, close-crowded by competition, a means of swelling their profits and insuring against loss; and encouraged by the phenomenal success of the standard oil combination, they have not been slow to accept it."

If we study the course of history during the last hundred years, we shall find that in all departments of human activity the tendency has been steadily and irresistibly towards consolidation. We have noticed its effects in industrial life, and in other quarters we find the same thing going on; as the interests at stake become greater and the machinery of management more complex the guiding powers draw more closely together and concerted action takes the place of individual effort. The despised money lenders have been to a large extent replaced by the great banking institution, with branches in various parts of the country; the young people's societies in connection with our churches have united in a Christian Endeavour Society embracing the whole continent; the liquor traffic is now fought by the *Dominion* Alliance and the W.C.T.U. The modern workman may live in a co-operative society's house, have his children cared for during the day at a great institution solely devoted to the care of children, earn his wages from a trust, eat his meals at one of the many lunch-rooms of the W.C.T.U., spend his evenings at the workingmen's club, and worship on Sundays in a United Presbyterian Church. Time was, in the educational system in this province, when there were hundreds of schools managed locally and each determining for itself the text-books to be used, the methods of teaching, etc. Now all that has been changed; these powers have been centralized in one great department of the government, which prescribes almost everything. In the industrial world the tendency towards combination is so constant and steady that certain students of the subject have actually formulated the laws of its development as follows: "In any given industry the tendency towards monopoly increases—

1. As the waste due to competition increases;

2. As the number of competing units decreases;
3. As the amount of capital required for each competing unit increases;
4. As the number of available natural agents decreases."

And the conclusion they arrive at is that "monopolies of every sort are an inevitable result from certain conditions of modern civilization."

As civilization has advanced life has become more complex. The requirements for the carrying on of a successful manufacturing business have increased incalculably in number and difficulty. We have no longer the little mill, run by a mountain stream, employing a dozen hands and selling its products within a radius of twenty miles. Nowadays there must be a plant costing hundreds of thousands, experts at the head of each department, hundreds or thousands of workmen. The market is now the whole world, and through the various agencies which the time provides we must keep well posted on the condition and wants of even the most distant markets. Buyers and travellers are sent in all directions, we must advertise extensively, and skillfully anticipate the ever-varying caprices of a perhaps distant public. Above all we must exercise the most rigid economy in every department and "let nothing be lost." Only the other day I was talking of the recent failure of a manufacturer to an expert in the business, and he attributed the failure to the fact that the firm had made no line of goods to use up the waste from the higher grades. "Such a policy," he said, "is suicidal as manufacturing is now carried on and shows that the men at the head of the concern did not know their business." Of course, the great company or combine is much better able to accomplish all this than the individual manufacturer as a rule, so the tendency is to unite. First comes the partnership, then the chartered company, and then the combine, including many companies. But there are other companies in the same business with expensive plants and many employees, and they have much capital invested on which they desire a dividend. So there is a fierce fight for the market, in which all suffer severely through over-production and the cutting of rates. This cannot go on forever, so presently some one proposes a truce, and following the example of the church when in doubt, calls a conference. "See here," he says, when the leaders

of the trade have assembled, "what is the sense of our cutting one another's throats as we have been? My company can probably stand it as long as any of you, but we want to make something on our invested capital, and so do you. Giving the public cheap goods is all very well, but we are part of the public and must live like the rest. Furthermore, this cut-rate work is destroying the good name of the trade, for there is more adulteration and general shady work than would have been dreamed of a few years ago. Now, why should not we all combine and agree to produce only so much of honest goods among us as will keep the price at a profitable figure, instead of wildly over-producing in order to 'grab' sales, regardless of the price." The idea strikes the assembled manufacturers as good, a committee is named to devise ways and means; it recommends that a ring or combine be formed, the members binding themselves to produce only up to a certain pre-determined quantity, and agreeing to pay in, for distribution to the losers, so much per ton or yard, or whatever it may be, on all goods which they manufacture over the proportion allotted to them. A central committee, composed of some of the leading men in the business, is formed to direct matters, decide as to how far the output is to be curtailed, the scale of prices, the relative share of each member of the combine, etc. Sometimes all the profits are put into a common pool and distributed to the members according to capital invested, but often each company looks after the profits for itself. Soon, owing to the reduced production the price rises, and is put up by the committee as far as they think safe under existing circumstances. If old competitors refuse to come in, or new ones spring up, they are bought off or killed by rate cutting, unless unimportant, when they reap the benefits without undergoing the dangers, and are not molested. In this way, if the combine is successful, a large profit is secured, but the members have to make haste to get all they can, for they well know that some one's cupidity will soon lead to a break. And this very haste is often the undoing of the combine. If the leaders are wise, they will seek to pass as rapidly as possible into the more permanent form of a regular trust. Having done so prudence advises them to reduce prices to a reasonable level, and seek to make most of their gains through the many economies arising from combined

action. In the majority of cases, however, in their haste to be rich, some of the members of the combine begin secretly favouring certain buyers by reduced rates; the results are soon apparent, remonstrance fails, others follow suit, and there ensues a regular scramble to get out products and secure some of the trade. The old cut-rate methods return, and with them soon come over-production, low prices, closed mills, idle hands and, for many, bankruptcy. One or two lessons of this kind teach the leaders of the trade that a more perfect form of organization is needed, whereby more control over the individual firms shall be obtained, and the trust is the result. Owing, however, to the irrational anti-trust laws of to-day all kinds of concealment and subterfuge have to be resorted to, and hereby creep in many of the abuses commonly ascribed to trusts as such.

Monopolies may be conveniently divided into two classes: Natural monopolies and artificial monopolies. No sharp line of distinction can be drawn between them, for most monopolies partake somewhat of the nature of both, but usually the characteristics of one or the other are so prominent as to render classification comparatively easy. Natural monopolies are such as from their character preclude the competition of a serious rival. The obstacle may be the lack of any other available source of supply as in the case of certain famous medicinal waters; or the possession of some secret process of manufacture, as is the case with the thin, opaque paper which has made the Oxford bibles so famous and nets the University press an enormous revenue each year. The secret of this paper is known to only three men in the world, and they are all connected with the Oxford press, which has, therefore, an absolute monopoly of the best paper for bibles, and consequently of the best bibles. Again, what is practically a monopoly may arise owing to the vast capital required for carrying on the business, and the character of the business itself. Examples are furnished by railways, municipal gas works, water works, electric lighting plants, street railways, etc. Artificial monopolies are those which have been obtained by the combination of competing capitalists in any line of business for the purpose of getting control of the output to kill competition and increase profits. Rings, corners, combines and trusts are of this nature.

We have seen how the rapid growth in the interests at stake and the necessity for keeping employed the capital invested have increased the severity of competition until some form of relief became absolutely necessary, and how combination seems the best form for obtaining relief. But it is a well known fact that those who exploit new fields of activity are usually the more restless and lawless characters. Such was unquestionably the case in Australia, and it has to a great extent been true of the western parts of Canada and the United States also. Furthermore, in new and unsettled regions, respect for law is feeble, and crime and outrage are common. But everyone knows that all this is only temporary ; that in a short time the ever westward march of civilization and law will trample under foot the wilder spirits, or drive them further west, to prepare the way in new lands where their reckless daring will prove valuable in overcoming the dangers of a wild country. Meanwhile their recent stamping grounds are dotted with smiling homesteads and prosperous cities. Might we not, reasoning from analogy, fairly look for a similar course of events in the industrial world. With regard to the question under discussion such seems to me to be the case. In the earlier and more experimental stages of combination great risks are taken, and therefore the more reckless are the ones who go in. Under such circumstances we may look for much that is questionable and unscrupulous for a time, until the possibilities of combination and monopoly in legitimate trade become better recognized by the solid men. And has not this been the case ? An "old Hutch" cleverly corners the wheat market and gets out safely with a gain of a million dollars ; many stock-brokers are ruined, trade generally is unfavourably affected, and confidence on the stock market is not restored for a long time, but what of that ? "Old Hutch" has cleared a million, and why should not others ? Immediately all the speculators are plotting to make millions too by securing a temporary monopoly of the sources of supply of some commodity. The plots are more or less nefarious, many of them fail utterly, and but few attain signal success, but they make an opening for the more legitimate businesses. The benefits of monopoly are not long left in the hands of the plunger. Soon the leaders in various lines of business, hard pressed by close competition, take advantage of the

same principle by entering into agreement to act concertedly in production and sale. The pool or the combine is the usual form which their union takes at first. The wire-nail industry furnishes us with a good illustration of the usual course pursued. The wire-nail industry in America is of comparatively recent growth, and for the first twenty years of its existence the manufacturers did not seek to combine, for they enjoyed the large profits attendant upon a new and rapidly growing trade ; they were few in number, and each had more than he could do. But as the number of competitors increased the output was forced far beyond the demand, and prices fell to a ruinous point. Then Mr. Parks, a great Chicago manufacturer, who had been the central figure in the "tack combine," proposed that all the more important manufacturers should form a pool. His suggestion was acted upon, and the result was "The Wire-Nail Association of 1895-96." Prices and the output were always fixed for a month in advance. The aggregate product agreed upon was apportioned to the various companies on a basis depending partly on sales for three months before the pool was formed, partly on production in one of these three months, and partly on capital as indicated by the number of machines. A cost price was assumed, which was supposed to represent the cost of production at Pittsburg, from which most of the raw material for this trade comes ; and the cost at every other point was assumed to be equivalent to the Pittsburg cost with freight from Pittsburg added. So the selling price from different points, including delivery at the buyer's railway station, and the assumed cost price were harmonized by the use of the Pittsburg base. All the profits above the cost prices so arrived at were paid into the pool ; and the amount in the pool, after paying all expenses, was divided monthly. The basis of division of profits was the same as the basis for the allotment of production. The pool lasted for eighteen months, and at first was quite successful. By buying off competitors and inducing the manufacturers of nail machines to sell only to members of the pool, it was able for a time to keep the price well up and to make good profits, which, however, were materially reduced in warding off competition. But there were always a few competitors and the number rapidly increased, while the rise in price had the effect of reducing the

demand from 500,000 kegs per annum to 125,000 kegs. When this point was reached the attempt at pooling was abandoned and the usual scramble ensued. Yet, despite the seeming failure, the leaders claimed to have done well and to have accomplished all that they had hoped for, and they soon began to take steps toward the formation of a more perfect combine, as the only salvation of the trade.

The pooling of railway rates is another example of this form of combination, and where roads have been paralleled for the purpose of railway competition it seems the only way of avoiding periodic bankruptcy and receiverships. The anthracite coal combinations and the New York Milk Dealers' association are other examples of trade combinations in which only a partial control is given to the central committee, and there are no means of enforcing obedience when members prove troublesome. They are always in danger, therefore, from the disloyalty of their own members, as well as from anti-combine legislation; and this precarious existence tends to produce a certain recklessness regarding the future and an undue eagerness to get the most out of the present. They are likely, therefore, to abuse the power which they have obtained and use it for the destruction of rivals, the coercing of those who supply them with raw materials and machinery, and the obtaining of abnormally large profits during such period of sunshine as providence may grant them. These abuses, however, arise largely from the temporary nature of the combine, and under a more thoroughly consolidated system, where authority was centralized in a few men working as a board of trustees, and able through this close combination to take full advantage of the great economies arising from union, many of the evils might disappear.

The defect from the promoter's point of view of the ordinary combine, then, is that there is not sufficient central authority, that the individual members have too much power in their own hands, and as a result are apt to break the combine by yielding to the desire for rapid gains. After many more or less successful experiments, however, a form of combine has been evolved which overcomes this difficulty, and can therefore promise a considerable degree of surety and permanence to those entering it. This is the modern Trust, the most stable and satisfactory form

of artificial monopoly ; (for the trust, as we understand it here, implies more or less of monopoly power. "A trust," says Cook, "is either a monopoly or an attempt to establish a monopoly.") The usual method of procedure in forming a trust is simple. Suppose, for instance, that the sugar business is suffering from over-competition and the managers of the different refineries agree to form a trust. Most of them are already incorporated stock companies ; those which are not seek to obtain charters as soon as possible. Then trustees are appointed, and in exchange for all, or at least a controlling interest in the stock of the various businesses, they issue trust-certificates. The trustees thus have all the concerns under their control, so no member can cut rates, over-produce, or in any other way interfere with the plans of the trustees. Some of the poorer refineries are immediately closed down, the rest are equipped with the latest appliances, and every department is watched by experts with close attention. All the subsidiary trades are taken hold of by the trust, which makes its own barrels, boxes, paper, etc, thereby saving large amounts. All transactions in different branches of the business are reported minutely to the head office, where the main part of the book-keeping is done. The trustees arrange sales, the quantity to be produced each year, and all such matters, and in this way the many competing factories become merely parts of one great organism.

The number of trusts has increased so rapidly in the last few years that many examples could be given, but the oldest and best known is, of course, the Standard Oil trust, which dates back to 1882. It controls the coal oil trade of the United States, and is the chief factor in the world's trade. It has been for years denounced as having secured its monopoly through the most unscrupulous bribery of railways to secure preferential rates, and having ever since consistently and heartlessly used its power to ruin all competitors. The trust has recently, owing to the pressure of anti-trust laws, ostensibly ceased to exist, but it really carries on business as before, though under some new form. It was formed by various individuals transferring to the trustees shares of stock and receiving trust certificates in payment therefor. The real capital of the trust is estimated at about \$150,000,000, and the profits are very large. Thirty million

dollars worth of the Trust property consists of pipe lines for the transfer of oil to the great cities and the seaboard. Some 25,000 men are employed, and it refines 75 per cent. of the oil refined in the United States. One large rival pipe line company gave it considerable trouble for a time, but has, I believe, been bought up.

The story of the birth and growth of this great combination is too well known to require more than the barest treatment. About thirty years ago John D. Rockefeller was a clerk in a produce commission house in Cleveland. When the discovery of petroleum fields in Pennsylvania led to much speculation, Rockefeller and a young friend invested all their savings and what capital they could raise in buying some of the oil-bearing land and tried their hands at refining crude petroleum. Andrews, a former labourer, who had discovered an improved method for refining, joined them, and his secret, with good management, brought success. Soon, Rockefeller's brother joined them, and they had two refineries under one management. Then Mr. Flagler, a great capitalist, was induced to take an interest in the business, and the Standard Oil company was formed with a capital of one million dollars. Under Rockefeller's clever management it soon began to make its influence felt by forcing its rivals to either join it or go out of business. In this process it adopted various methods; several were bought up, and then as it grew stronger many were coerced. A favourite method of crushing obstinate competitors at this early stage seems to have been the obtaining of heavy discriminating rates on the railways leading from the oil district. This the members of the trust have sought to deny, but it seems certain that the railways lent themselves in the earlier years, to aiding Rockefeller's designs, with deadly effect on his competitors. This was only for a short time, however, at the first. Rockefeller proved to be a genius in organizing the various forces into a great combine, and also in anticipating the wants of the market, and therein lies the main secret of his marked success. He has provided the means for supplying the public at less cost with a vastly superior article, and his reward has been great. Presently he saw the need for cheaper methods of transportation and took hold of the pipe-line system, which proved a boon to all owners of wells, enabling

them to get their petroleum cheaply and without trouble, to the market. S. C. T. Dodd says of this system :

" Although the business was built up and owned by those who built up and own the Standard Oil Company, the business is done for the public. Its benefit to the oil trade has been incalculable. Instead of, as is sometimes charged, the "Standard" being the sole buyer, the buyers are numbered by thousands. The producer not only gets the highest possible price which competition to purchase will bring; he gets also cash in hand. He never sees his oil from the moment it leaves his well. When he wants his well tank relieved, he telephones a pipe line guager, sees his oil pumped, receives a ticket showing the amount, takes it to a pipe line office and gets a certificate which he can hold, borrow on or sell in any exchange, as he sees fit. No one can estimate this advantage to the business. Without combination, aggregated capital and public confidence in the security, it could not have been accomplished. Should you dissolve the combination and disperse the capital which makes these certificates secure, the system could no longer be maintained."

The Standard Company, which has been so successful that in 1882 its managers were able to consolidate most of the refining interests in the trust, set vigorously about proving that it performed a necessary function for society, by improving the quality and reducing the price of coal oil. As to the results of its work, so fair and careful a writer as David Wells, says in his *Recent Economic Changes* : " The price of crude oil during this period, (1873-1887) declined from 9·42 cents to 1·59 cents per gallon, and of refined oil from 23·59 cents to 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  cents per gallon. The decline in the price of crude oil was unquestionably due to its enormous supply, which at one time amounted to nearly 100,000 barrels per day, while the stock of crude oil rose from 3,500,000 barrels in 1876 to the stupendous figures of 41,000,000 barrels in 1884. Had refined oil declined only at the same rate, its minimum price would have been 15·75 cents per gallon. But the fall in refined oil has been 9·01 cents per gallon greater than the fall in crude oil; and as over 1,000,000,000 gallons were consumed in 1887, this saving of 9·01 cents per gallon to the public amounted to nearly \$100,000,000 for that same year. Here then, some agency, other than increased supply and diminished cost of the crude oil, has unquestionably come in and operated to

reduce the price of a manufactured product in a given period disproportionately to that experienced by the raw material from which it was derived. What was that agency? Did any concurrent change in the relative values of precious metals used as money, contribute in any degree toward effecting such a result? It is claimed, and without doubt, correctly, to be largely due to the fact that the whole business of refining petroleum in the United States and the distribution of its resulting products has gradually passed since 1873 into the ownership and control of a combination or 'trust'—the Standard Oil Company—which, commanding millions of capital, has used it most skilfully in promoting consumption and in devising and adopting a great number of ingenious methods whereby the cost of production has been reduced to an extent that, at the outset, would not have seemed possible."

But during this time, and particularly since the "trust" was formed, its members have netted enormous profits and its opponents point to this fact as a proof that the trust must have been stealing from the consuming public, oppressing its work-people, and generally injuring society. One has only to consider the question, however, to be convinced that such is not necessarily the case. If by the increased power and economy resulting from concentration the trust has been able to save large sums, it is entitled to reap a part of the saving, so long as it sells at a reasonably low rate, lowers the price gradually and allows the public to share in the good results of its work. That the Standard Oil Trust has done the latter is amply shown, I think, by Mr. Wells' figures. That it has saved enough, through the increased efficiency, arising from its combined power, to make handsome profits for its members without exploiting either the consuming public or the wages of its own work-people, is shown by the facts which Mr. Wells and Mr. Dodds have collected regarding the economies which the trust has effected. Mr. Dodds says :

"The association of refiners united the best knowledge and skill in the business. If one had a patent it was open to all. If one had a secret the others shared it. Methods were compared. New plans were tested. Results were and are carefully collated. If one establishment succeeds in saving the fraction of a cent per barrel in making

oil, the reason is known and the method of saving adopted. If good results are obtained in one manufactory and bad results in another, the reason is at once discovered and faults corrected. Scientific men are constantly employed who have made useful discoveries in new products and new methods of manufacture. The consequence of all this is that since 1872 the actual cost of the manufacture of refined oil has been reduced 66 per cent. The public have the advantage of this in the reduced price at which the oil is sold, which benefit amounts to millions annually. The same cheapening has taken place in the manufacture of barrels, tin cans, boxes for enclosing cans, paint, glue and acids. The company use 3,500,000 barrels per annum. The saving in cost of manufacture since 1873 amounts to \$4,000,000 per annum. Thirty-six million cans are used per year. The cost of making has been reduced about one-half. The saving amounts to \$5,400,000 per annum. The cost of making wooden cases has been reduced one-third. The saving amounts to \$1,250,000 per annum."

The same process has taken place in the manufacture of tanks, stills, pumps, and everything used in the business, and all this has been effected without reducing wages. It would seem, then, that the Standard Oil trust has followed steadily and with success sound and just economic principles in building up a business. Why, then, the outcry against it? Partly, as has been already pointed out, because we are still in the transition period. We are in process of changing from an industrial system based on free competition to one based on combination. During such a period many must suffer severely, and suffering usually stirs up hatred. Then again, before the best form of combination was discovered, there had to be many experiments, and experimental failures in industrial life cause much trouble. Such have been the many combines, pools and corners which sought "not an increased concentration of productive power, but only an increased unanimity among the sellers of products to keep up or put up prices." These have caused damage to legitimate business, and a failure to distinguish between them and the regular trust has led to the inclusion of the latter in the general condemnation.

I am far however, from wishing to imply that the trusts have been guiltless of all evils and steadily refused to use their immense power to force illegitimate gains. An enormous number of trusts

and combines exists in the United States ; and the sagacity and insight of the leaders of even the greatest of them cannot always with-stand the temptation to use their opportunities for making haste to be rich, any more than it will prevent many clever men from living beyond their income, or speculating in risky enterprises although they know that the odds are against their winning in either case. In this way we may account for much of the popular antagonism towards trusts, for as Mr. Gunton says :

" The economic law of permanent productive integration is that increased concentration of capital and power in fewer hands is economically justifiable and socially tolerable only on the condition of improved services to the community in better quality or lower prices of what is furnished. Profits are the legitimate rewards of capitalistic enterprise ; but they should always be obtained by exploiting nature through improved methods, and never by exploiting the community through higher prices. The failure of capitalists to recognize this principle as the inexorable social law of their existence is sure to bring social antagonism, which will result in some form of arbitrary, uneconomic restrictions, detrimental alike to capital and the community. Capitalists who imagine that any amount of accumulated wealth can enable them to defy this social law are greatly mistaken, and sooner or later will have to pay the penalty by the arrest of their progress, if not by the entire dispossession of their present industrial opportunities."

The short sketch of the Standard Oil Trust has shown some of the possibilities for effectiveness and economy, opened up by properly directed, combined effort. Furthermore, it has been shown that such effort, improperly directed, as in the corner, for instance, usually ends in failure or, at least, in the cessation of activity, so there is hope that in time the better elements in combinations will survive, while the evils have been controlled and removed. It might be claimed that the Standard Oil Trust is an exception to the general rule, but a glance at the results of combination in many other industries reveals results which, though perhaps not so striking, indicate success gained in the same way ; by improving the service, lowering rates, and making profits by the economies of combined management. The history of the integration of the numerous telegraph lines into

one or two great systems reveals similar results. "Before this concentration took place, in 1866, it cost to send a ten-word message from New York to different western points, as follows: Chicago, \$2.20, now 40 cents; St. Louis, \$2.55, now 40 cents; New Orleans, \$3.25, now 60 cents; St. Paul, \$2.25, now 50 cents; Galveston, \$5.50, now 75 cents; Buffalo, 75, now 25 cents; San Francisco, \$7.45, now \$1.00; Oregon, \$10.20, now \$1.00; Washington Territory, \$12.00, now \$1.00."

The results of the concentration of railroad interests tell the same story. During the last twenty-two years combination has gone on very rapidly among railroads, yet the rates show a reduction of over 50 per cent. Mr. Gunton has estimated that since the organization of the following businesses into great concentrated capitalistic concerns the purchasing power of wages in their respective products has increased as follows: Telegraphing, 600 per cent.; petroleum, 300 per cent.; cottonseed oil, 100 per cent.; transportation, 100 per cent., and I do not think that he has exaggerated the increase.

We have seen that most important economies result from the saving in clerical and office work, the work of drummers and that tremendous expenditure which, so far as good results to the trade as a whole or the public go, is wasted by individual concerns in trying to capture business and kill the trade of rivals. Under competition millions are annually spent in advertising; the trust does away with the necessity for the greater part of this, and incidentally also for most of the misrepresentation and lying which go with it. The saving resulting from the employment of the ablest managers and the most skilful workmen, the best machinery and means of transportation, the utilization of products and the absorption of subsidiary industries has been already noted, and considered purely from the material standpoint is enormous.

But there are social effects as well of the greatest importance. A great concern like a trust studying the question of production through the eyes of able experts sees that it can afford to employ none but the best workmen, and the best of anything can be obtained only by paying a good price, hence trusts should tend to keep up rather than depress wages, and such seems so far to have been the case. In the many denunciations of trusts I

find almost no serious complaints on the score of a lowering of wages ; it seems to have been the policy of the trusts to employ only the best men, pay them well, and get the best out of them. " In all the industries where great concentration of capital has taken place, the wages have increased, except in particular instances where through the introduction of machinery a new class of labour has been employed, as substituting women for men and young people for adults, which has been something of a feature throughout the whole factory system." Quite as important as the rate of wages in its effect on the social condition of the labourers is the permanency of labour. One of the worst features of the modern competitive system has been the tendency to over-production, with its inevitable periods of depression when operations are suspended for a time and labourers thrown out of employment. The aggregation of capital in a large trust, however, is so great that a suspension means enormous loss, and having to a certain extent control of the market, the managers make greater and much more successful efforts to adjust their production steadily to the demand. The result is steady, constant employment for the workmen. The moral and social effects of such a condition as compared with the precarious state under competition are worthy of the most serious consideration.

There is an ever growing class of people who depend for their living upon the income accruing from investments of capital which they have neither the ability nor the desire to manage. But the amount of available capital is now so great that it becomes ever more difficult to place investments safely at a fair rate of interest. To such people the trust certificates when under proper control will offer a splendid field. At present the position of trusts is too uncertain, but when they take their proper place in the economic world, under legal recognition and proper control they will prove a boon to the small investor.

Are there, then, no evils attaching to trusts ? Decidedly ; but most of them, it seems to me, do not attach to trusts as such, but to trusts as at present situated. With a change in conditions, therefore, they might be removed, and, as a matter of fact, most of them are not so glaring as they were a few years ago, and in the case of the older trusts many have disappeared. The evils for which trusts are held responsible are so much

better known than the benefits, and have been incidentally referred to so often in earlier parts of this paper that I do not feel like going into them fully here, and shall note only a few of the more *real* and grave ones.

The temptation to trustees to manipulate trust stocks for the purpose of speculation is great, and there is no doubt that this evil has a very real existence. But if trusts were given legal status and forced to report on their business somewhat as our banks do, this could be prevented. The Bank of Montreal is noted for its stability and the careful way in which it safeguards the interests of its stockholders ; yet it is not so very long since a general manager, recently deceased, by his clever but reckless speculation doubled the value of Montreal stock. He might as easily have ruined the bank. That was less than thirty years ago, but to-day the Bank of Montreal ranks third among the banks of the world in solidity, and is one of our most conservative and respected monetary institutions.

The corruption of the members of legislatures for the purpose of securing favourable legislation or killing that which is unfavourable, has in the United States been one of the worst features of the concentration of capital. It has been characteristic not of trusts and combines alone, however, but of nearly all great industrial interests, whether consolidated or not. Just before the passing of the Dingley Act, in the United States, the amount of lobbying that went on at Washington was tremendous. The representative there of the Eastern lumbermen said the other day to a friend of mine that he spent over a month at Washington trying to have the lumber clause changed, but had not enough money. "I had only \$20,000 to spend," he said, "and needed \$100,000 ; with that amount I could have had the clause changed to suit myself. The concerns that had plenty money got all they desired, for very many of the Senators and Congressmen have their price, and with them it is merely a matter of how much they can get." The sugar trust seems to have been a serious offender, and has spent large sums in influencing legislation ; it is even claimed that bribery reached the cabinet itself, and it is certain that the sugar clause agreed upon in committee was revealed beforehand to a few Senators and members of the Sugar Trust, who were thereby enabled to

buy heavily of sugar stocks and make a large profit by the rise of 34 points, which followed immediately on the publication of the clause. But evils of this kind cannot be removed by laws against trusts. They will exist, whether there be trusts or not, until a slower and more indirect cure is tried. Public opinion must be educated to a point that will prevent such senators getting control of affairs; the public service must become so honourable as to attract the best men the nation has got, and then neither trusts nor single companies can use their wealth to force the hand of the government.

This is not the way of the American nation at present, with them quick action, even at the cost of rational action, is all-important. They cannot abide the slow, indirect method, but prefer to act on the principle of the Donnybrook Irishman—"Whenever you see a head, hit it." They are not over-careful in looking to see whose the head is, and when the losses are counted may find as many broken heads on their own side as on that of the enemy. In view of this attitude it is not surprising that in answer to the loud outcry against trusts nearly every state in the Union has passed anti-trust legislation; and in every case it has signally failed. Most of the laws are ridiculous in their severity, and if interpreted strictly would prohibit every form of combination in trade, from the simple partnership up. The supreme court has decided that Congress has no jurisdiction over trusts as they come under the jurisdiction of the State governments. Mr. Gillett, however, discovered what he thought a loophole in the jurisdiction of Congress over inter-state commerce, and introduced a bill providing that anything manufactured or owned by a trust, and in course of transportation from one state to another, is liable to confiscation, and anyone knowingly aiding in such transport "shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof be punished by a fine not exceeding twenty thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both."

Such enactments by their extreme character foster a contempt for law that is dangerous and weakens the force of all law; they encourage deceit and evasion on the part of those affected, and connivance on the part of officials who, owing to its severity, are afraid to enforce the law. Professor John B. Clark, of Columbia

University, in an article headed *Anti-Trust Laws a Failure*, points out that there has always been a struggle against combination in trade, owing to the fear of monopoly and high prices, and that this struggle has always had the same result, the interests which followed the natural course of events won every battle. History is but repeating itself in the case of trusts and trust legislation ; partnerships between two or more master workmen were once dreaded and forbidden ; they were combinations in restraint of competition and considered therefore contrary to the public interest. But the policy of suppressing partnerships was abandoned, for it was discovered that competition in ample measure survived their formation. If the partnership included all the weavers in one town, those in the next would step in as competitors if prices rose appreciably. Next, corporations were admitted. "Even these extended partnerships did not extinguish competition, and in productive efficiency had much to recommend them." We now look on them as absolute necessities of modern industry. We are at the next step now; the trust, or some similar wide combination of common interests, is needed, and will presently be permitted to take unmolested its proper place in the industrial world. We find that two influences checked the power over prices of the early partnerships—there were always some competitors left in the town, and even if not, there were the neighboring towns to be considered. We find a similar state of affairs to-day, when things are allowed to take their natural course—even the Standard Oil Trust has always had competitors.

But in many countries, and certainly in North America, the force of the second check on the improper use of power is always impeded and usually nullified by the protective duties, which cut off foreign competition. With the question as to whether protective duties are ever of real advantage to a country we have not to deal at present, but certainly when such a duty has become inoperative for the purpose for which it was imposed, it is almost sure to foster monopoly and high prices. For instance, if, as is claimed, North America is the natural home of the iron industry of the world, then, in the present advanced state of that industry, the duty on iron is quite inoperative for the purpose of protection, but performs a new service : it has now become a duty for the sustaining of a monopoly. Of course, the interests

which have been established under a long system of protection are so great that the support upon which they depend must not be suddenly removed, but active steps should be taken looking to the gradual lowering of the walls. Our present Minister of Finance has grasped the idea of the great help given to combinations by import duties, and has discovered a potent means of keeping such combines in order, by incorporating into the laws a clause providing that articles, the production and sale of which is controlled by combination, may be declared by proclamation free of duty. But it would be better if the duty did not exist, for the present clause gives an opening for three serious dangers : First, that the government may at any time yield to a popular but irrational outcry against combines and by suddenly removing duties ruin legitimate interests through a failure to distinguish between different kinds of combination ; secondly, that the government, when in need of election funds, may be tempted to play with threats of enforcing the act, to influence the contributions of large concerns to the party purse ; thirdly, it encourages attempts at bribery and corruption on the part of corporations.

The preceding treatment of the subject, superficial though it may be, will justify us in drawing a few conclusions and making some suggestions. We found that there is to-day in many departments of human activity a strong tendency toward centralized power and combined action. This, it seems to me, is a necessary and inevitable stage in the evolution of society. If this be true all attempts to stop it must in the end prove futile. We know enough of social development to see that every advance is made against the most strenuous opposition, which, however, always fails. The struggle never ceases, and slowly but surely advances are made. The changes in modern life and industrial conditions, the rapid accumulation of capital, coincident with an industrial revolution, which has rendered necessary large investments and increased immeasurably the intensity and danger of competition, made some form of close combination absolutely necessary, and the modern trust is the best outcome of the movement. At present we are in the transition period, and such times are always trying. Until the new order becomes firmly established under proper regulations and with a proper understanding of its nature and requirements there must of necessity be

many abuses and much suffering. But the same thing was true of the period of transition from the old handicraft system to the modern factory system and competition. Those who were displaced suffered intensely, yet few to-day in looking back would maintain that the gain had not quite justified the change, even including the suffering. In our own day many cabmen have been ruined by the electric car; the steam shovel has deprived thousands of navvies of a job, while the rapid extension of the steam-laundry system is relegating the Monday washwoman to the shades of our younger days. In other words, in passing from a less perfectly organized to a more perfectly organized system, those who have been unable to keep abreast of the times and to foresee in a practical way the drift of events are always forced out and pinched in the process. But, ultimately, the mass of the people reap benefits from the change which many times outweigh the losses of the moment. Combination is inevitable, and as it involves great changes, suffering is also inevitable, but because all progress involves suffering we should not seek to prevent progress. Let us, so far as possible, by judicious regulation, alleviate the suffering, but with no idea of obstruction, for "it is a paradox, and yet a truth, that sacrifice is the law of life."

Trusts should be recognized as a legitimate outcome from our industrial conditions and given legal status. Should they be allowed perfect freedom of action? If the freedom were so thorough as to remove all artificial aids to monopoly it might be sufficient in most cases. But we cannot hope for so much, and even if we could, certain forms of monopoly must be reckoned with which require more than this. There are businesses which from their very nature must sooner or later become monopolies; attempts at competition may go on for a time, but they are too ruinous to last. Of this nature are railways, telegraphs, telephones, gas works, electric lighting plants, etc.; other businesses again are monopolies, because the supply of the raw materials is limited and can be acquired by a few men—anthracite coal is an example. With these natural monopolies, then, we must begin in our efforts at regulation, in fact we have already begun. They have so little to fear from competition, have so strong a hold over their patrons, and owe so much to the advantages bestowed upon them by society,

that she may well claim some share in the regulation of their affairs. Hence we find that most municipal monopolies are more or less under the control of the municipal authorities. With regard to the regulation of such monopolies experience seems to point to the following principles. If the management required is simple, and comparatively few hands are employed, the municipality may with profit assume the ownership of the plant, and run it for the benefit of the citizens, as in the case of the water-works in most cities and towns; but if the monopoly is such that it requires a large number of employees and a highly organized and intricate system of management, the municipality had better hand over the franchise to a single strong company, subject to a carefully drafted agreement safeguarding clearly and thoroughly the rights of the citizens, and working as nearly automatically as possible. The agreement between the city of Toronto and the street railway company is a case in point and works well.

Perhaps, as the character of our aldermen and municipal officers improves, we may be able to take over much more highly organized businesses than at present, but we cannot be too careful, for incompetence and corruption have hitherto characterized most of our more ambitious ventures in such a direction. To see that advancement is possible, however, we have but to look at some of the industrial centres in Britain and what they have accomplished in the way of municipal control and ownership. Glasgow is proverbial for the efficient and economic way in which she attends to nearly all the wants of her citizens. Lighting, tramways, water supply, baths, amusements and a host of other things have been supplied in the best form and at a cheap rate. But Glasgow pays high wages in order to secure first-class men, and then all her officers are elders in good standing in the Kirk, while some of ours are not.

In dealing with mining lands, the right of way for railways, and similar privileges for which the corporation has to ask the government, grants should be made only on such clearly defined conditions as shall adequately safeguard the rights and interests of the citizens and insure for them a fair share in the future gains which result from the development of the country. In all railway charters clauses should be inserted dealing with the

question of rates and the facilities to be provided, and through these should the public benefit if the expansion of the country makes the railroad a success. Much smaller grants should be given to railroads too, for if railways are really needed there is plenty of capital ready to build them, and if there be not enough people to support them, nor the prospect of this being the case in the near future, there is as a rule no justification for their existence. In the case of a grant of mining lands I am strongly convinced that provision should in every instance be made for a royalty to the government should the mine prove valuable. In dealing with natural monopolies, no attempt should be made to create competition. Competition here is ruinous to all parties concerned ; the paralleling of railways in the United States has shown us something of the evils and losses which inevitably result from such a course. A great amount of capital is sunk in a second road, and a rate war begins, which goes on with intervening periods of pooling of rates, etc., until one of the roads goes into bankruptcy and a receiver is appointed. It runs on for a time giving a poor service and paying no dividends, and at last has to be sold and is bought in by its rival. This is taking place all over the United States, and consolidation goes on apace ; while a great capital, which might have been elsewhere fruitfully employed, has been sunk in a needless enterprise and lost. Only last week it was announced that a move was on hand looking to the consolidation under one management of the great Vanderbilt railway system and its rivals, both east and west, and this is receiving confirmation in the consolidation of the New York Central and Lake Shore roads. When we pass to the more artificial monopolies, those depending on the great aggregation of capital and the consolidation of interests, the field for beneficial direct interference is exceedingly limited in extent, for, as Professor Ely points out, in a democratic country, corruption almost necessarily attends public efforts to control private business. "President Eliot, of Harvard University, has in a recent article pointed out how the liquor business necessarily becomes a corrupting element in politics on account of the efforts to control it ; those who are controlled attempt to defeat the ends of control, and they enter politics to do this. What has been described with respect to the liquor business holds with respect

to every business which it is endeavoured to control. When the number of businesses which are controlled increases largely the corruption becomes more widespread, and the difficulties become infinitely greater." Permanent boards of control, like the Inter-State Commerce Commission of the United States, with few members and great power, are always open to the dangers of corruption. Furthermore, any attempt by an outside power at active interference is almost sure to destroy that freedom of initiative and rapidity of action so essential to successful business to-day.

Our plan of action should be to recognize trusts and other great aggregations of capital as legitimate and necessary forms of business enterprise, so that they may occupy a normal position in their commercial and legal relations, and can be treated as other businesses are. But, recognizing also that competition has hitherto been the chief regulator in business, and that trusts tend to remove competition, we must have other regulators in reserve as an unseen force, ready always to act should necessity demand. We must not look to remove all the evils by a single cure, but must seek improvement in many ways. Cure-alls are as dangerous in sociology as in medicine.

The enormous accumulation in recent years of capital eager for investment, and the consequent low rates of interest, furnish one of the greatest safeguards against an improper use of their powers by trusts; and it is a safeguard of unusual value in as much as it requires no police force behind it. Professor Clark points out the results of this readiness of capital to enter new enterprises, as follows :—" It is the danger of calling new competitors into the field that actually holds in check the scores of trusts now existing in the United States. Only up to a certain point can they now curtail products and raise prices; if they go further, new mills spring out of the earth, as it were, in a night, and the combination goes to pieces, leaving prices lower than ever. It is this type of competition that needs to be kept alive. It is not the actual building of the new mills that is necessary. What is wanted is such a condition that new mills are certain to be built if a trust is extortionate. Potential competition is the resource to be depended on. The mill that does not yet exist, but will exist if prices rise, is the protector of the public." That is

one of the numerous forces which help to keep in check the dangerous side of trusts. But to be effective it requires the removal of protective tariffs in order that competition from without may have free play.

Again, as many irresponsible combinations, of a temporary nature, and seeking only a rise in price, have hitherto inflicted much damage on the industrial world and involved the more legitimate forms in the general condemnation, trusts should be made to throw open to public scrutiny such features of their business as will not be injured thereby. They ought, it seems to me, to be chartered, somewhat as banks and insurance companies are, and issue reports in the same way. Before receiving a charter they should clearly indicate their object and give reasonable evidence of ability to successfully attain it. Thus, the ring or pool seeking a merely temporary arrangement, for the raising of prices would be to a large extent done away with; it could not get a charter and would have against it the huge influence of those legitimate combinations which are at present classed as illegitimate. Trusts in this way would help to regulate combinations of all kinds and steady business. Having forced recognition after a struggle during which they suffered severely from the stigma cast on combinations through the action of temporary and unscrupulous ones, their vast negative influence would hereafter be exerted against such rings, and their positive influence would make for the steadyng of trade by the careful adjustment of supply to demand and the avoidance therefore of those periodic times of depression which are such a feature of our present industrial system.

This, it seems to me, is as far as we may safely go in the way of direct efforts at controlling interests, but there still remains a vast and difficult field of labour; one in which all may do their share, and one whose results will in the end be of infinitely greater value than those of any enactments which are immediately operative. It is a field which will never be exhausted, for every advance reveals new and greater distances beyond. Our efforts for the regulation of trade combinations and the amelioration of industrial evils must to a large extent follow a slow and indirect course. We must go behind the corruption of governments and the exactions of monopolies to the men who

manage them, and behind these again to the general public, who are the final arbiters. We must endeavour to instil in them a knowledge of what ought to be done and a desire to do it. We must indeed apply the knife to the cancer to give temporary relief, but can hope for no permanent cure without a long and patient course of constitutional treatment. A few suggestions as to the needs of the patient and the course of treatment to be pursued will not be out of place.

First of all it is necessary that people should get some definite knowledge as to the nature and scope of the leading economic and social laws. These are laws which touch closely and at many points the lives of all, and yet the ignorance on such topics is amazing. The question under discussion is a case in point : Monopolies have been denounced in many quarters of late years, and the word "trust" has been the favourite epithet applied to the monsters. Yet most of those using the terms so glibly could give no definite and reasonably correct definition of either a monopoly or a trust. Many of the combines most bitterly denounced under the name of "trusts" for instance were not trusts at all. A clergyman high up in church circles in the Eastern States and recognized by his brother clergy as one of their leaders, told me this summer that the very life-blood of the republic was being drained by the "trusts," and that they should be legislated out of existence at once. On being asked for examples of these terrible "trusts," he instanced a milk dealers' association, composed of a number of dealers who had agreed among themselves to keep up the price of milk, but each of whom was quite independent in his power over his own business ; a great departmental store, doing business under charter as an incorporated company, and owned by a single man, and finally the Louisiana lottery. Not one of them a trust, and each different in nature from the other two ! What can we look for from the ordinary voter if these be the views of our teachers ? It behoves our preachers, and others whose position gives weight to their opinions, to carefully study such problems themselves and then strive to disseminate broader and more rational views among their followers. Our business men too, in their study of business principles, should not stop with a knowledge of the immediate requirements of their trade, but take broader ground,

and base their technical knowlege on proper guiding principles. As Mr. Gunton says in writing on this very question :

" Instead of applying arbitrary limitation to the aggregation of capital, the real reforms to be sought are in the education of the capitalist and the public in regard to the true relation of capital to the community. First, the capitalists must learn, or pay the penalty for their ignorance, that their right to concentrate must be paid for in improved services. It should be made a recognized principle among investors that capitalistic integration is unsafe, unless accompanied by the assurance that it will render a perceptible benefit to the community. Not that the community should have all the gain, but it must have some. The public should be educated, and here is the work of the press, to recognize the difference between genuine productive integration and mere price-raising agreements. All the influences of society should be made to support the former and discourage the latter. If this distinction were clearly established by the press and the public, it would soon become a moral and social impossibility for industrial combination to occur, without giving the public improved service."

Again, the workingmen must get a clearer hold of the idea that *indirectly* they have their own welfare largely in their own hands, and that in the last resort no one can help them but themselves. The trade unions have done a great work already in organizing labour, and not only winning for it the respect of others, but inducing it with self-respect. (This is much truer of Britain than of America.) Their action has often been bigoted and short-sighted, but they have accomplished much. The main object which they have hitherto set before themselves has been negative in character : the resistance of attempts on the part of employers to exploit what they considered their just wages or privileges. Recent events seem to indicate that their activity has been pushed to the extreme in this direction : it is many years since so decided a set-back has been received by any union, as the wealthiest and most experienced of all received the other day in the practical failure of the engineers' strike in Great Britain. The efforts of trades unions must be hereafter more and more positive in character and look to the improvement of their members and the fitting of them for the higher positions which through union effort they have won. The trust and the great corporation demand skilled workmen and offer them greater chances than

ever before for advancement, but they must fit themselves for it. Technical education is as yet in its infancy, and its possibilities for the improvement of the labourer and his work are only beginning to be realized. Again, we must inculcate in the people higher ideals and finer taste. So that any advances which they make in material welfare may not immediately be squandered in dissipation or on tawdry finery and veneer accomplishments, but will be used in self-improvement and the attainment of a more comfortable, more intelligent, and more beautiful mode of life.

There is another question about which the beliefs of the labouring classes in working out their own salvation, and, in fact, the opinions of most of us, including particularly our politicians, must undergo a radical change. I refer to the question of population, a question which raises many of the most difficult problems of our existence which affects every one of us closely, and yet is carefully avoided by the majority, instead of receiving, as it ought, the most careful and painstaking investigation. Here we can but take a glance at it in passing. Malthus is still worth reading ; the truths he stated years ago are still truths, and from the labourer's point of view furnish, in my opinion, the keystone of the arch of his difficulties. There has been long prevalent an idea that the parents of children are performing a duty for which the state and their fellow-citizens owe them much. Under proper restrictions the idea is a true and noble one, but parenthood *as such* is no guarantee that a citizen is helping his country. In a meeting in Toronto for the discussion of social questions, where the average of intelligence was quite up to the ordinary, I heard not long ago a man denounce as wrong the present industrial system which pays to the married and unmarried man the same rate of wages. "Why," said he, "at the next bench to mine works a young, unmarried fellow, who gets the same wages as I do, and yet, while he neglects his duty to his country, I have followed the Bible's injunction to "be fruitful and replenish the earth." The sentiment was applauded by the majority of those present and openly opposed by none. Under our present industrial conditions workmen shift so easily from one place to another, that his responsibility for the finding of a place for each one of his children is not brought closely home to a father. "They will get a place somewhere," he says, and lets the morrow look out for

itself. It will be better for all parties concerned when the workingmen grasp the idea that they owe it to themselves, to their children, and to society, to so start each child in life that he has a good chance of winning for himself a position in society at least as good as that of his father, and of improving on his parent in taste and education. The first step in this direction should not be very difficult to take—the men whose prudence and honesty have led them to observe the rule, and who have either refrained from marriage or are in a position to properly educate and start their children, should be impressed with the fact that they are suffering a personal wrong at the hands of every man whose youthful folly or incapacity has burdened him with a family for which he cannot properly provide. Let the better men learn that they have to contribute for the education of these children and to the support of the large number who become paupers or criminals, only to make an addition to the army of half equipped workmen, who will presently seek to oust them from their positions by underbidding for their work. Once get this idea impressed upon the ambitious workmen, and a tremendous pressure growing in intensity will be brought to bear on the evil from the ranks of the class most affected.

But it is not the working classes alone who need a lesson on this subject. Many of our politicians seem to have gone mad on the population question and talk as if this country were doomed to eternal destruction if a large population be not gotten soon. "Just look," they cry, "at our undeveloped resources and the immense population they would support? But if they be not of that religious sect which believes that the end of the world is at hand, can they not afford to let their grandchildren enjoy a few of the resources? Are people to be counted by the head, and nothing else considered? I have sometimes suspected our butchers of buying their beeves on that principle, but how can we blame them if population is contracted for in the same way. Are we required to receive a hundred thousand of the scum of the earth from General Booth and thank God for a glorious increase in numbers, though they will pollute the bodies and souls of our children, and furnish us with a permanent bill of expense, a source of constant worry, and a splendid recruiting ground for our criminal army? Surely it were better in estimating the value of

citizens to adopt the standard of Emerson and believe that the true test of civilization is not in the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops, but the *kind of men* the country turns out."

"But what has all this to do with monopolies?" cries some one eager to apply the knife and be rid of the difficulty. I said that the field for direct and immediate action in dealing with the evils attaching to monopolies was limited, but that much might in time be accomplished indirectly by educating and in various ways changing the condition of those whom the question affects. There must be a great advance in knowledge and character made by all of us, but more particularly by the capitalist, the labourer, and lastly, by our public men. We want an independent and fearless press which shall seek to mould public opinion, not truckle to party prejudice or popular passion; we want an enlightened pulpit to lead and educate, not to dogmatize and hurl anathemas; we want a public sentiment, so strong and loyal, that it will tolerate none but the best men in public places, and none but their best efforts in the conduct of public affairs. The path is a long and difficult one, results can be achieved only in the slowest and most painful manner, but I am convinced that in this way alone can anything more lasting than momentary and partial relief be attained.

E. R. PEACOCK.

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#### NIETZSCHE'S GENEALOGY OF MORALS.\*

THE Macmillan Co. are doing good service in presenting the works of Friedrich Nietzsche to the English public in such admirable translations. The order of publication, indeed, is somewhat unusual: to begin with volume XI, go back to volume VIII, forward to volume X, and then once more backward through volume IX to volume VI, reminds one of Dogberry's famous charge: "Marry, sir, they have committed false report; moreover, they have spoken untruths; secondarily, they are slan-

\**The Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*. Edited by Alexander Tille. Vol. X. *A Genealogy of Morals*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

ders ; sixth, and lastly, they have belied a lady ; thirdly, they have verified unjust things ; and, to conclude, they are lying knaves." Nietzsche is held by his admirers to be the greatest philosopher of the nineteenth century, if not of all time. One is accustomed to expect from philosophers a certain order and system in their thought ; indeed, it has even been maintained that a philosophy without system is a contradiction in terms. Perhaps, however, this may be a prejudice. There may be no reason why the philosophy of the future should not be couched in aphorisms, and be, in the words of Kaatz, an ardent follower of Nietzsche, "totally wanting in organic structure." The great philosophers of the past have all been slow, methodical and ruminant, but that may be because philosophy was only in its infancy. At any rate the works of Nietzsche are not related to one another as parts of an organic whole ; he has no system, though there are certain main ideas which recur with "damnable iteration" in all his writings ; and therefore we can take them up in almost any order and, one might almost say, open any work of his at any page we please without doing violence to its contents. The writer whose style Nietzsche most admired and imitated in his own way was Emerson ; and Emerson, as we know, though he was not a systematic writer, yet had something to say worth hearing. It will, therefore, be well to come to Nietzsche without prepossession, ready to accept what he has to tell us, if we find that he really has anything to tell us. No doubt it is difficult for ordinary minds to feel at home with a style of writing which throws out suggestions that are never followed up, and adopts the "I-am-sir-oracle" style of speech throughout ; but we must allow the man of "genius" to find his own mode of utterance, and seek to translate his ideas, as best we may, into the slow and ponderous terms of articulate thought. Some critics, indeed, maintain that Nietzsche's so-called "genius" is of that sort which is not only "nearly allied" to "madness," but actually *is* madness. That he wrote some of his books in the intervals between his residence in a lunatic asylum, and finally went incurably mad, is an undoubted fact ; and it is maintained by at least one expert that he is a clearly-marked instance of *paranoia*\*. Whether these charges

\*See note at the end of this article.

are true or not I shall leave it to others to say ; and even admitting their truth, such men as St. Francis of Assisi and Rousseau may be cited as proof that a man may be abnormal and may yet be the exponent of a great idea. Let us then look at Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals* as dispassionately as possible, endeavouring to understand it and to appreciate its value. I purposely select this work as perhaps the most coherent of his later writings, and therefore as exhibiting his "philosophy" at its best.

One has not read very far in Nietzsche before one discovers that, whatever may be the intrinsic value of his own ideas, he is not in the least mealy-mouthed in expressing his contempt for the idols of the hour, especially if they are English ; in fact, he has a supreme contempt for all English philosophers, whom he places at the opposite pole from his favourite Hindoo thinkers. This luxury of contempt is not peculiar to Nietzsche ; he has inherited it from his father in philosophy, the pessimistic Schopenhauer ; and in fact any one familiar with the great German thinkers, from Kant downwards, soon sees that Nietzsche knows nothing about them except what he has learned, or rather mislearned, from his master or from lesser men. The truth is that Nietzsche was incapable of following a connected system of ideas, and what he seizes upon is simply some superficial aspect of a philosophy, not its inner core and spirit. This will become abundantly clear as we go on. In the meantime, as has been said, it is clear that he rejects the prevalent psychology and ethics of the English school. It may be well to quote some of his words as a specimen of his style and mode of thought :

" These English psychologists, to whom, among other things, we owe the only attempts hitherto made to bring about a history of the origin of morality [a remark, by the way, which is utterly false]—they give us in their own persons no slight riddle to solve ; they have even, if I may confess it, for this very reason, as living riddles, something distinctive in advance of their books—*they themselves are interesting !* These English psychologists—what is it they want ? We find them, voluntarily or involuntarily, ever engaged in the same work—the work of pushing into the foreground the *partie honteuse* of our inner world and of seeking for the really operative, really imperative and decisive factor in history just there, where the intellectual pride of man

would least *wish* to find it, for example, in the *vis inertiae* of custom or in forgetfulness or in some blind and accidental hooking together and mechanism of ideas, or in something purely passive, automatic, reflex-motion-like, molecular and thoroughly stupid. What is it that always drives these psychologists into just *this* direction?.....I am told that they are in reality nothing but so many stale, cold and tiresome frogs, hopping about and creeping into man, as if here they felt themselves at home, in their proper element, namely, in a *swamp*. I hear this unwillingly ; nay, I do not believe it. And if, where knowledge is denied us, I may venture to express a wish, then I wish quite heartily that the reverse may be the case with them—that these explorers and microscopists of the soul are, in reality, courageous, proud and magnanimous animals, who can, at will, set a curb to their heart, and also to their smart, and who have educated themselves to sacrifice all desirableness to truth, to *each* truth, even simple, bitter, ugly, repulsive, unchristian, immoral truth.....For there are such truths.”\*

So far we have not much difficulty in following Nietzsche. He knows something about English psychology and ethics ; he has read or heard about Buckle, Mill, Huxley, Darwin, Tyndall and Herbert Spencer ; and has seen that their doctrine is a sort of mechanism of the mind. That doctrine he evidently in some way rejects, but he is magnanimously convinced that they were seeking for the truth of fact, and to that extent he seems to sympathise with them. This is the natural inference from his words ; but it is not all that Nietzsche means, as we shall immediately see. “Courageous, proud and magnanimous animals,” as they are—and when Nietzsche says “animals” he means “animals”—they imagine that “truth” can be discovered, and Nietzsche is clear that this is a delusion. Meantime, he admits that they are well-meaning “animals,” though their point of view is utterly wrong. “All due deference to the good spirits who may hold sway in these historians of morality ! But I am sorry to say that they are certainly lacking in the *historical spirit*.....The botchery of their genealogy of morals becomes manifest right at the outset in the determination of the origin of the concept and

\**A Genealogy of Morals*, pp. 17, 18.

judgment 'good.' 'Unselfish actions'—such is their decree—'were originally praised and denominated 'good' by those to whom they were manifested, *i.e.*, those to whom they were *useful*; afterwards, this origin of praise was *forgotten*, and unselfish actions, since they were always *accustomed* to be praised as good, were, as a matter of course, also felt as such—as if, in themselves, they were something good.' \*\*

This is a travesty of the Utilitarian doctrine. 'Good' is not regarded by the Utilitarian as simply those actions done by another which are useful to the subject who reaps the benefit of them; an action which is fitted to bring good to the community as a whole, including oneself, is regarded as 'good.' There is, therefore, on this view, no separation between the good of oneself and the good of others. Nietzsche has not a glimpse of the real defect of the Utilitarian doctrine, which lies in a totally different direction. That defect consists in the attempt to combine the two discrepant ideas of 'good' and 'pleasure.' But it was essential to his view to make an absolute separation between the good of two sections of the community—those who rule and those who are ruled. To the Utilitarian he attributes this separation, because he makes it himself. The Utilitarian, as he conceives him, opposes two classes—those who have the upper hand and those who are in subjection. That this is his assumption is evident from a passage in another work, *Beyond Good and Evil*, in which he tells us that "Slave-morality is essentially Utilitarian morality;" in other words, what is called 'Utilitarian morality' is what the subject-class found to be conducive to their *own good*, as distinguished from the good of the master. But Utilitarianism entirely denies this distinction, and indeed the element of truth in it which first commended it to the English mind was its impartial or democratic character. When, therefore, Nietzsche represents Utilitarianism as deriving the 'good' from that which is 'good' for the lower class, as distinguished from the higher, he ignores what is distinctive of it. No doubt Utilitarianism seeks to determine what is 'good' by the consequences of actions in the way of producing pleasure, but the consequences which it contemplates are the pleasure accruing to the community as a whole.

\**Ibid.* pp. 18, 19.

Nietzsche, however, has his own theory of the origin of the idea of 'good.' What was originally called 'good' was not actions, but persons, and the persons who were so called were the masters, as distinguished from the slaves. "The judgment 'good,'" he tells us, "was *not* invented by those to whom goodness was shown! On the contrary, the 'good,' *i.e.*, the noble, the powerful, the higher-situated, the high-minded, felt and regarded themselves and their acting as of first rank, in contradistinction to everything low, low-minded, mean and vulgar.....It follows from this derivation that the word 'good' has *not* necessarily any connection with unselfish actions, as the superstition of these genealogists of morals would have it. On the contrary, it is only when a *decline* of aristocratic valuations sets in, that this antithesis 'selfish' and 'unselfish' forces itself with constantly increasing vividness upon the conscience of man,—it is, if I may express myself in my own way, the *herding instinct* which by means of this antithesis succeeds at last in finding expression."\*

There can be no doubt as to what this means. What was originally meant by 'good' were those primitive impulses by which the various individuals of the ruling class found themselves dominated. These impulses led them to love mastery, and despise those whom they kept in subjection, and they called themselves 'good' because they possessed and indulged them, not because of their advantage to the community. The term 'good,' therefore, had originally no moral significance whatever; it expressed the natural feeling of superiority of the master, as contrasted with the bad, *i.e.*, the mean and vulgar, nature of the slave. Now, without at present asking how far this is a correct account of the original meaning of the terms 'good' and 'bad,' it may be pointed out that the original meaning of a term cannot be taken as determining its value; on the contrary, the original meaning, just because it is original, is certain to be less adequate than the later. But Nietzsche is so loose and inconsequent a thinker, and has learned so little from the development of thought in the present century, that he practically adopts the view of Rousseau, that what is primitive is therefore higher than what is later in origin. The term 'good' may originally have

\**Ibid.* p. 19.

been devoid of moral significance, and yet the moral significance may be that which expresses the real 'value' of the term.

In proof of the contention that 'good' originally meant 'superior,' 'noble in its caste sense,' while 'bad' meant 'common,' 'mean,' 'moblike,' take the German word 'schlecht' itself. "It is identical with 'schlicht' (simple). Compare 'schlechtweg' (simply, plainly) and 'schlechterdings' (absolutely). It denoted originally the simple, the ordinary man, in contradistinction to the gentleman.....About the time of the Thirty years' war—quite late, we see—the sense shifted into that which obtains at present."\*

It need hardly be repeated that the argument from etymology is not only liable to abuse, but proves nothing as to the real 'value' of the idea which it expresses. All words expressing *moral* qualities were originally employed to denote *physical* qualities. *Schlecht*, as Wundt points out, meant originally 'straight.' After Nietzsche's preposterous method, we might argue: 'schlecht' meant 'straight,' i.e., 'upright,' 'well-formed,' 'handsome,' so that the 'straight' man was the 'upright,' 'well formed,' 'handsome' man. But, as most men are not 'handsome', envy led in course of time to what Nietzsche calls a "*transvaluation of values*," and hence the 'handsome' man came to be regarded as the 'wicked' man. This is certainly quite as good reasoning as Nietzsche's. It is, of course, nonsense. The term 'schlecht' seems to have passed through the intermediate stages of 'simple,' 'plain,' 'poor,' 'mean.' "In" the phrase *schlecht und recht*," says Wundt, "which has come down to us from Luther's German, *schlecht* is still used in the old sense. The adjectives are synonymous and reinforce each other. That two words of practically the same original significance should develop in diametrically opposite directions can have happened only through that transference of meaning from without inwards, in course of which one and the same sensible image may come to have entirely different emotional and intellectual value, according to the light in which it is regarded. In one case straightness becomes symbolic of the good character which

*Ibid.*, p. 23.

contemns deceit and subterfuge. In the other, it stands for the narrow disposition that pursues only low and selfish aims."

'*Malus*' Nietzsche puts along with '*μέλας*' as = 'dark-complexioned' and 'dark-haired,' applied by the "nobles" to the pre-Aryan habitant of Italian soil. Now Fick tells us that the root is '*mar*,' 'to soil': whence Sanskrit '*mala*' = 'dirt,' 'mud,' then 'evil.' As cognate we have '*μέλ-ας*,' 'black'; '*μολύνω*,' 'to soil'; Latin '*mal-u-s*,' 'bad.' Evidently the original meaning, as usual, was physical, and then came to be applied to moral qualities, as in Sanskrit and Latin. Since '*μέλας*' = 'black,' there is no reason why it should not be applied to black-complexioned men; but Nietzsche's notion that it was so applied by the "noble" to the pre-Aryan does not help in any way to prove that the noble regarded the black-complexioned man as "mean and lying." To call a man black-complexioned, if he *is* black-complexioned, does not imply contempt. Of course what is 'black' or 'dirty' naturally comes to mean 'bad' in a moral sense, but not 'bad' in Nietzsche's sense of 'slavish.' Latin seems to have lost the original sense of 'dirty,' and to have retained only the moral sense of 'bad,' Greek rather retains the original sense.

The Latin '*bonus*,' Nietzsche thinks, meant the 'warrior,' for '*bonus*' is from the older '*duonus*' (cf. *bellum* = *duellum* = *duenlum*), in which latter form he supposes '*duonus*' to be contained. '*Bonus*' would, therefore, be the man of quarrel, of dissension (*duo*), the warrior. But, according to Fick, the root of '*bonus*' is '*da*' = 'give': Greek '*δι-δω-μι*': Latin '*do*,' '*da-re*.' Then we have '*duas*,' a 'gift'; cognate, Latin '*duonus*' = old form of '*bonus*.' '*Bonus*,' then, was applied to things viewed as 'gifts,' therefore naturally to persons of superior birth. Thus vanishes Nietzsche's 'warrior.' Evidently '*bonus*' was originally applied to things which were 'goods' or 'gifts,' and a 'good' man would be one with 'goods' or 'gifts,' whether they were external or internal. Out of this the later meaning of morally good would naturally arise. But '*bonus*' has no connexion whatever with '*duo*' or '*duellum*.' '*Duo*,' it seems, is from '*du*,' to 'go.' Then we have '*dua*,' '*dva*' = 'two': cognate, Greek '*δύο*,' Latin '*duo*,' English 'two.' '*Bonus*' and '*bellum*' have therefore no relation to each other.

Nietzsche's most brilliant etymological feat, however, is in connecting 'good,' 'gut' and 'Goth,' which, according to all recent philologists, have no connection whatever. "The English 'good' and German 'gut' are etymologically connected with the German 'Gatte,' from root 'gad' = 'fit,' and so mean 'fitting.'" We have this meaning in the English 'gather.' This usage has survived to the present day. A 'good' workman, or a 'good' man of business, is one who is fit for his special task. But, as usual, alongside of this primitive meaning, the term is used with the significance of 'conformable to what is morally right'; another instance of the spiritualisation of a word originally employed in a direct and literal sense. If we adopted Nietzsche's preposterous method, we should have to conclude that the moral significance of the term was a mere perversion.

Nietzsche's philological argument thus vanishes in smoke. If the former professor of classical philology was, as he tells us, put on the track of that interpretation of history which is to supersede the "botchery" of the English "genealogists of morals," he was put on the track to a mare's nest. The truth, of course, is that he came to the question with a ready-made theory, and naturally found what he was determined to find. He has, however, another argument for his great discovery, based upon anthropological grounds.

We find at the dawn of history two distinct types of man, the "fair-haired" and the "dark-haired." The foundation of the former was the "beast of prey, the splendid, blond beast, lustfully roving in search of spoils and victory." The primitive nature of these "splendid blond beasts" appears whenever they are freed from social restraints; then they "step back into the innocence of the conscience of the beast of prey, as exultant monsters, which, perhaps, walk away from an abominable sequence of murder, burning down, violation, torture, with such wantonness and equanimity, as if merely some student-trick had been accomplished.....An outlet is necessary from time to time for this hidden nature; the animal must come out again, must go back into wilderness: Roman, Arabian, Germanic, Japanese nobility, Homeric heroes, Scandinavian vikings—in this need they all are one.....Even in their highest civilisation the consciousness of this fact is visible, and even a certain pride in it

(for instance, when Perikles addresses his Athenians in that celebrated funeral oration. ‘In every land and sea, our boldness has cut a way for itself, setting up for itself, everywhere, imperishable monuments for good or *for bad*.’) These “noble” races fell upon the less noble, conquered them and made slaves of them. “A herd of blond beasts of prey, a race of conquerors and masters, with military organisation, with the power to organise, unscrupulously placing their fearful paws upon a population perhaps vastly superior in numbers, but still amorphous and wandering—this herd founded the State.”

Thus the State was founded upon the fundamental distinction of masters and slaves. The masters first created the distinction of ‘good’ and ‘bad,’ *i.e.*, they called their own qualities ‘good,’ those of the subject race ‘bad.’ ‘Good’ meant severity, cruelty, pride, courage, contempt of danger, joy in risk, utter unscrupulousness. ‘Bad’ meant “the coward, the nervous, the mean, the narrow utilitarian, and also the distrustful with his disingenuous glance, the self-abasing, the human hound who allows himself to be abused, the begging flatterer—above all, the liar.”

The slaves naturally gave a different meaning to the terms ‘good’ and ‘bad.’ The ‘bad,’ or rather ‘evil,’ is for them, actuated as they are by resentment, “just the ‘good’ one of the opposite morality, even the noble man, the powerful and the ruling one,—but reversely coloured, reversely interpreted, reversely looked at through the venom-eye of resentment.” And for them the ‘good’ are “all those who wrong no one, who never violate, who never attack, who never retaliate, who live aloof from the world.....and who, altogether, demand little of life, the patient, the humble, the just.” “This means, viewed coolly and unprejudicially, no more than : ‘We, the weak, are—it is a fact—weak ; it is well for us not to do anything, *for which we are not strong enough.*’\* Humane morality, in short, is the morality of cowards.

There are thus two opposite ideals ; what by the masters is called ‘good’ is by the slaves called ‘evil,’ and what the masters call ‘bad,’ the slaves call ‘good.’ Naturally these two moralities came into conflict ; and, strange to say, the slave-morality

\**Ibid*, pp. 46, 48.

conquered. "It was the Jews who, with most frightfully consistent logic, dared to subvert the aristocratic equation of values (good = powerful = beautiful = happy = beloved of God), and who, with the teeth of the profoundest hatred (the hatred of impotency) clung to their own valuation: 'The wretched alone are the good; the poor, the impotent, the lowly alone are the good; only the sufferers, the needy, the sick, the ugly, are pious; only they are godly; them alone blessedness awaits;—but ye, ye, the proud and potent, ye are for aye and evermore the wicked, the cruel, the lustful, the insatiable, the godless.'..... With the Jews the *slave revolt in morality* begins: that revolt, which has a history of two thousand years behind it, and which to-day is only removed from our vision because it—has been victorious."\*

Nietzsche also seeks to give his doctrine a metaphysical basis. It is commonly assumed that there is a 'doer,' a 'subject,' who acts, and that this subject is 'free' to act otherwise. The supposition is absurd: strength must manifest itself as strength, weakness as weakness. "That the lambs should bear a grudge to the big birds of prey, is nowise strange; but this is no reason for blaming the big birds of prey for picking up small lambs.....To demand of strength, that it should *not* manifest itself as strength, that it should *not* be a will to overpower, to subdue, to become master of, that it should *not* be a thirst for enemies, resistance and triumphs, is as absurd as to demand of weakness that it should manifest itself as strength. A quantum of power is an equal quantum of impulse, will, action. More correctly speaking, it is even this impelling, willing, acting itself, and nothing else,—and it is caused to appear otherwise only through the seduction of language (and the cardinal errors of reason, fossilised in language), which takes and mistakes all action as conditioned by a 'subject.'.....But there is no such [subject, no such] substratum; there is no 'being' behind doing, acting, becoming. 'The doer' is merely a fictitious addition to the doing; the 'doing' is all.....But the slavish avail themselves of the belief in free will; and, in fact, support no belief with so much zeal as this, that the *strong are free* to be weak, and that a rapacious bird can, if it will, be a lamb. For in this way

\**Ibid.*, p. 31.

they appropriate in their minds the right of *imputing* to the bird of prey the fact that it is rapacious.”\*

After this wild whirl of words let us pause to take breath. According to Nietzsche, there were originally two opposite types of man, endowed by nature with contrary impulses. Both were as yet devoid of moral ideas. But somehow the strong organised themselves—not from impulse, but from necessity—and then they fell upon and enslaved the weak and cowardly with their loose organisation. It was at this point that the idea of good and bad, good and evil, arose. A new movement began with the revolt of the slaves—the most perfect type of whom are the Jews—who originated what we know as Christian morality. So far this slave-morality has triumphed, though there have been at intervals partial revolts against it; which, however, have been only temporarily successful. But the future lies with the ‘master-morality,’ of which Nietzsche is the prophet. Then man will return to the non-moral stage, which is “beyond good and evil,” *i.e.*, is beyond the miserable, fawning, lying morality of Christianity.

Since the slave-revolt in morality, life, till then a delight, at least for the bold and powerful, has become a torment. For the fundamental instinct of man is not unselfishness and pity, but selfishness and cruelty. “Right” and “wrong” are the creation of law. “Only after the law has once become established, do ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ exist.....To speak of right or wrong *in itself* is altogether meaningless; *in itself* the act of injuring, violating, exploiting, destroying, can, of course, not be anything ‘wrong,’ inasmuch as life *essentially*, *i.e.*, in its fundamental functions, works injury, violation, exploitation and destruction, and cannot be conceived otherwise. Indeed, we are even forced to submit to still more delicate truths: such as the fact that, viewed from the highest biological point of view, legal conditions can never be anything else but *exceptional conditions*, that is to say, partial restrictions of the proper will of life which seeks power. ....A legal order conceived as sovereign and universal; not as a means of which different complexes of power avail themselves in their struggle with one another, but as a means *against* all war

\**Ibid.* pp. 46, 47.

whatsoever.....such an order would be a principle *hostile to life*, tending to destroy and disintegrate life, an outrage upon the future of man, a sign of languor, a by-way to the Nothing.”\*

The fundamental instinct for ‘exploiting’ others is contrary to ‘slave morality.’ But a fundamental instinct cannot be destroyed, though its direction may be changed. The origin of ‘bad conscience’ is now evident. “Bad conscience I take as the deep sickness which man had to fall into, when under the pressure of that most radical of all changes to which he was ever subjected,—that change which he experienced when he found himself for ever locked within the ban of society and peace. Precisely as the water-animals must have felt, when forced to the alternative of either becoming land-animals or of perishing, even so in the case of men, those semi-animals happily adapted to wildness, warring, roving and adventure. All at once their unconsciously regulating and safely-leading instincts were rendered worthless and ‘unharnessed.’.....They were reduced to the necessity of thinking, reasoning, calculating, of combining causes and effects (what misery !), to their *consciousness*,—their meanest and least reliable organ ! .....And, worse still, those old instincts had by no means ceased all at once to make their demands !” Now, “all instincts which do not discharge themselves outwards will receive an inward direction—this is what I call the *internalisation* of man .....Those terrible bulwarks, by means of which a political organisation guarded itself against the ancient instincts of freedom (punishments are first of all among these bulwarks) effected the result that all these instincts of wild, free and roving man turned inward *against man himself*. Enmity, cruelty, the pleasures of persecution, of surprise, of change, of destruction—imagine all these turning against the owners of such instincts : this is the origin of ‘bad conscience.’ Man who, from a lack of outer enemies and obstacles, and because he found himself wedged into the unbearable straits and regularities of custom, impatiently tore, persecuted, gnawed at, maltreated himself, stirred up man, this captive animal grating against the bars of his cage, intended to be ‘tamed,’ this creature deprived of and pining for its home, the desert ; he, who was compelled to

\**Ibid*, p. 92.

make out of himself an adventure, a torture chamber, an unsafe and dangerous wilderness—this fool, this homesick and despairing captive, became the inventor of ‘bad conscience.’”\* This transition was sudden. “Our hypothesis...presupposes...that that change did not take place gradually, or spontaneously, and did not represent an organic-ingrowing into new conditions, but rather a rupture, a leap, a compulsion, an unavoidable fate against which there was no opposition, and not even any resentment.” The ‘state,’ therefore, “made its appearance in the form of a terrible tyranny,” the instruments of which were “any herd of flaxen-haired robber-beasts, a conqueror and master race, which, organised for war and possessing the power of organisation, will unhesitatingly lay its terrible clutches upon some population perhaps vastly superior in numbers, but as yet shapeless and roving.....They are innocent as regards the meaning of guilt, of responsibility, of regard,—these born organisers.....‘Bad conscience’ has not grown among *them*, thus much is self-evident—but it would never have grown at all *but for them*, that ill-shaped growth.....This *instinct of freedom*, suppressed, drawn back and imprisoned in consciousness and finally discharging and venting itself only inwards against self: only this is the beginning of *bad conscience*.” And now we can understand how man came to frame the conception of ‘guilt’ and ‘sin.’ It is due to “that will to self-torture, that stemmed-back cruelty of animal man who has become internalised, who is, as it were, chased back into himself, who is encaged in the ‘state,’ to the end of being tamed, who invented ‘bad conscience’ for the purpose of causing pain to himself after the *more natural* outlet of this will to cause pain has become obstructed.” We are the inheritors of the vivisections of conscience and of animal self-torture of thousands of years. But all administration of justice, the punishment of ‘so-called’ criminals, the greater part of art, especially tragedy, are also disguises in which primitive cruelty can still manifest itself.

Slave-morality, with its ‘ascetic ideal’ of self-suppression and contempt of life, and its tormenting invention of conscience, allowed the slaves, it is true, to take vengeance on their masters;

\**Ibid.* p. 106, 107.

it also subjugated the mighty man-beasts of prey and created better conditions of existence for the small and weak, for the rabble, the gregarious animals ; but it has been pernicious to humanity as a whole, because it has prevented the free evolution of precisely the highest human type. "The collective degeneration of man to that which, in the eyes of socialistic ninnies and blockheads of the present day, seems their 'man of the future,' —their 'idol,'—this degeneration and dwarfing of man to the perfect herd-animal (or, as they say) to the man of 'free society'), this brutalising of man to the animal pigmy of equal rights and pretensions" is the destructive work of slave-morality. In order to discipline humanity to supreme splendour we must revert to nature, to the morality of the masters. "A factor which...possesses evident value with reference to the greatest durability of a race...would by no means possess the same value, if the problem were the formation of a stronger type. The welfare of the greatest number and the welfare of the smallest number are antithetical points-of-view of valuation. To regard the former as being *by itself* of higher value,—this we shall leave to the simplicity of English biologists." Rome succumbed to Judea with its ascetic ideal. "True enough that the Renaissance witnessed a dazzlingly-haunted reawakening of the classic ideal, of the noble manner of valuation in all things: Rome itself moved, like some asphyctic coming back to life, beneath the pressure of the new Judaised Rome built upon it, which presented the aspect of an ecumenical synagogue and was called 'Church.' But forthwith Judea triumphed again, thanks to that thoroughly moblike (German and English) movement of resentment, called the Reformation.....Once again, in an even still more decisive and deeper sense, Judea triumphed over the classic ideal through the French revolution : the last political noblesse in Europe, that of the seventeenth and eighteenth *French* centuries, broke down under the popular resentment-instincts. True it is that in the very midst of this event the most extraordinary, the most unexpected thing happened ; the antique ideal appeared *bodily* and with unheard-of splendour before eyes and conscience of humanity,—and once again, more sharply, more plainly, more forcibly than ever, against the old, false battle-cry of resentment about the *right of the most*, against the will to the

grading, degradation and levelling, to the downward and duskward of man,—resounded the terrible and rapturous counter-cry of the *privilege of the fewest!* Like some last hint pointing to the other road appeared Napoleon, that most isolated and latest-born of men that ever was; and in him appeared the incarnate problem of the *noble ideal as such*. Let it be well considered what kind of problem this is: Napoleon, this synthesis of non-human and over-human." All this travail of the centuries is a means to the production of the 'over-man.' "We shall find as the ripest fruit pendent from the tree, the *sovereign individual*, like to himself alone, delivered from the morality of custom, autonomous, supermoral (for 'autonomous' and 'moral' are mutually preclusive terms), in short, the man of private, independent and long will, who *may promise*—and in him a proud consciousness vibrating in all his fibres, of *that which* finally has been attained and realised in his person, a true consciousness of power and freedom, a feeling of human perfection in general."

The *Genealogy of Morals*, of which a partial summary has now been given, was intended as a defence of *Beyond Good and Evil*. Nietzsche made a mistake in writing it; if he had confined himself to oracular utterances, it might have been supposed that he had some solid basis for them, and at least he would not have revealed so plainly the utter nakedness of his thought. But, in a weak moment, he condescended to proof of his "deep" sayings, and was lost. The editor who naturally despises Hegel, the greatest philosopher of the century, tries in vain to present Nietzsche's doctrine in a reasonable light. He tells us that his author "knew that the historical side was his weakest point." The editor is wiser than his author. Nietzsche expressly plumes himself upon his "deep" insight into history, and charges all other moralists with blindness. In words already quoted he says that the English "historians of morality" are "certainly lacking in the *historical spirit*.....They think, each and every one, according to an old usage of philosophers, *essentially* unhistorically; no doubt whatever! The botchery of their genealogy of morals becomes manifest right at the outset." Are these the words of one who "knew that the historical side was his weakest point?" But, in truth, the historical side was not his weakest point; all his sides are equally weak, whether he is

philological, anthropological, biological or metaphysical ; there is no solidity in him from beginning to end, but either a resurrection of exploded ideas or a wild travesty of life and history. I have already dealt with his philological argument. Let us now look for a moment at the anthropological.

At the beginning of civilisation there were two distinct races, the 'noble' and the 'slavish,' the former 'organised,' the latter unorganised, or but 'loosely organised.' Before the union of these two races, men were actuated purely by the natural impulses of selfishness and cruelty. They had no "conscience," no sense of guilt, and no sympathy for their fellow-men. Without enlarging upon the manifest inadequacy of the division of man into two races, it is enough to point out that there is nothing new in this conception of man as originally a creature of purely selfish instincts ; it was the basis of the doctrine of Hobbes, who maintained that in a state of 'nature' man was purely selfish, being actuated only by love of power and love of gain. It was pardonable in Hobbes to take this view, at a time when nothing was definitely known of the primitive condition of man. But the theory is at once contrary to fact, and utterly untenable in itself. Anthropology has shown beyond doubt that early man was social, and indeed without combination he could not have maintained his existence at all. He was therefore not purely egoistic ; he was no solitary "beast of prey," actuated only by the lust of cruelty, but a being with the feeling of solidarity, and a certain degree of unselfishness. The same conclusion is confirmed by biology, which shows us that the higher animals exhibit social as well as selfish instincts ; and that man, granting him to have been descended from some lower form of animal, must necessarily have inherited both tendencies. Further, Nietzsche contradicts himself. He assumes that the "blond beast of prey" was a being of pure impulse, while yet it was just his faculty of "organisation" which enabled him to subdue the less organised races. It never seems to have occurred to him that a long process of development must have taken place before this organised form of existence could arise, and that the 'master-morality' which he describes could only result from the transcendence of purely animal impulse. If primitive man had no social instincts, by what miraculous process did he develop into a social being ?

This "blond beast" is supposed to have fallen upon the inferior races from a pure love of cruelty. Of course this is entirely unhistorical; the dominant races were urged to conquest by the same desire, in a less developed form, as that which accounts for the expansion of England now: they were seeking to keep open the avenues for higher development.

When we turn to the inferior races we find that, like the superior, they were already partly organised, and had in a less degree developed the same moral qualities as the others. Coming under the dominion of a more powerful and more developed people, they were forced to submit and become slaves or serfs. The process was inevitable and salutary, the result being a higher development of both. The slave learned to see in the master the embodiment of higher moral qualities, and the master developed the moral qualities distinctive of those who have to think for others and who learn to despise their own life. No doubt this form of society was very inadequate, but it was the means of transition to a higher.

Nietzsche takes the Jews as the representatives of 'slave-morality,' and with this 'slave-morality' he identifies the 'ascetic ideal.' In other words, he is absolutely blind to the double aspect of Christian morality. Christianity, as originally announced, did not affirm that the true life of man consists simply in dying to the natural self, but in transforming the natural into the higher self. Its motto was not, like Buddhism, "Die," but "Die to live." Nor did it oppose itself to the 'master' or 'ruler' as such, but only to that self-assertion which denied the claims of all men to rank as men. It certainly, and justly, exhibited the unreasonableness of an absolute distinction of class or race, such as Nietzsche unwarrantably assumes, but only to re-affirm the higher nature of all men, the universal possibility of recreating every man on the basis of his essential nature as a son of God. The only 'resentment' of Christian morality was the just and reasonable 'resentment' against the one-sided self-assertion of a class or race, the basis of which was blindness to the deeper identity which makes all men brothers. What gives countenance to Nietzsche's charge that Christian morality is 'ascetic' is the fact that, struggling as it did with barbarous tribes, who were very imperfectly fitted to receive its lesson, it

was forced to accentuate the “die,” which forms the half of its message; but with the Reformation and the beginning of the modern world, the other half began to receive its due; and whatever progress has been made in the last four hundred years has owed its moving power to this so-called ‘slave-morality.’ Christianity, in fact, is a synthesis of ‘master-morality’ and ‘slave-morality,’ because it seizes the principles involved in both.

The historical argument of Nietzsche is thus just as baseless as the philological. Nor is his metaphysical doctrine one whit less crude and one-sided. He argues that the idea of individual freedom is due to the fiction of a ‘self’ which is separated from its active expression, and that freedom is a dream; a man acts as his nature fits him to act, and cannot act otherwise. There is nothing new in this: it is the old doctrine of ‘determinism’ in a new dress. Of course there is no ‘self’ apart from activity; but neither is there any activity without a self; human action is self-activity, not a mechanical sequence. Nietzsche’s wild talk of the “blond beasts of prey,” which cannot do otherwise, is mere materialistic clap-trap; man is not a pure animal, but an animal who is capable of creating and following ideals.

Nietzsche’s derivation of ‘bad conscience’ is as preposterous as the rest of his doctrine. He assumes that the ‘masters,’ when they subdued the slaves, were nothing but beasts of prey, with a lust for cruelty; entirely forgetting that they were already moralised, and formed an organised community. If so, how can it possibly be true that as yet ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ did not exist? The qualities which enabled the conquering races to overcome others were moral qualities, not animal instincts; and if they were prepared to sacrifice the lives of others, they were not less ready to sacrifice their own. But Nietzsche, starting from the false assumption that society did not yet exist—although he has himself told us that the masters were ‘organised’—attempts to derive conscience from the fretting against the bars of society of those who were as yet ‘roving beasts of prey.’ ‘Bad conscience,’ he therefore explains as self-torture, due to the frustration of animal impulse, but only because man’s reason reveals to him a higher law. Thus society is not a restraint, as Nietzsche assumes, but a means of freedom—the means by which the individual receives back a hundred-fold what he foregoes. Without

society man would be what Nietzsche calls him, a 'beast,' or rather something much lower, for 'beasts' are not 'solitary.' Nor is Nietzsche's account of the origin of 'bad conscience' consistent with itself. On the one hand, he attributes the distinction of good and evil to the 'slaves,' while, on the other hand, he finds its origin in the 'masters.' If 'bad conscience' is the result of the vain struggle against the impulse to 'exploitation,' it ought to be felt only by those who feel that impulse, *i.e.*, the 'masters.' The 'slaves,' destitute, as he supposes them to be, of the 'noble' instinct of cruelty, should be absolutely innocent of 'bad conscience.' But it is just the 'slaves' who, in some unexplained way, have effected the 'transvaluation of values,' and originated 'bad conscience.' This is only another instance of the reckless and self-contradictory doctrine, which is admired by men like Nietzsche's editor. The contradiction arises from a glimmer of the truth, which it is the main object of the book to disprove, that all men have the same essential nature, and that morality is the product of that universal reason which is operative in all men.

'Right' and 'wrong,' we are told, are the creation of law. This, of course, is the "same old cabbage" cooked up anew. The Greek sophists said the same thing long ago, and the fallacy was repeated by Hobbes. And Nietzsche's reason is simply Hobbes' reason, *viz.*, that man is by 'nature' entirely selfish and rapacious. Justice is the creation of law merely in the sense that law establishes what the reason of man declares to be reasonable. Without the tacit consent of society to what is 'right' and 'wrong,' there is no solid basis whatever for justice; and if Nietzsche could succeed in bringing us into a state of pure 'nature,' the only result would be an internecine war in which his 'overman' would inevitably go to the wall from want of combination with his fellows. He forgets that if man *could* be brought into his visionary 'state of nature,' there would be nobody to 'exploit.' With the crack-brained enthusiasm of his kind, he imagines that he can both have his cake and eat it: that when he has destroyed the whole basis of society, and with it the very conditions which give room for eminence in any direction, the advantages of society will still remain. There is just one glimmer of sense in the whole of Nietzsche's rhodomon-

tade; *viz.*, that the ideal of society cannot be realized by levelling all down to the monotonous equality of the socialist; but this truth is distorted into the preposterous doctrine that the 'over-man' is above all law, human and divine, and is entitled to make the world his "oyster." The only claim any man can have for special privileges above his fellows is the reasonable claim not to be fettered in that free development of himself which is essential to the good of all. So far from being contrary to the spirit of Christian ethics, this claim is simply an application of its fundamental principle: "Die to live." The best that one can say for Nietzsche is, that his opposition to mere self-mortification as an end in itself may help to drive home the truth, that morality is not negative, but positive, or rather is the affirmation of the higher self by the transcendence of the lower.

JOHN WATSON.

*Supplementary Note.*

[In what is said above Nietzsche's doctrine has been examined purely in itself. Readers of the QUARTERLY will read with great interest the following diagnosis of Nietzsche, communicated by so distinguished a specialist as Dr. C. K. Clarke, Superintendent of the Rockwood Hospital, Kingston.—J. W.]

ROCKWOOD HOSPITAL, KINGSTON, March 4, 1898.

The case of Friedrich Nietzsche, when dealt with in the hard, matter-of-fact way in which medicine must regard such cases, is clearly one of paranoia, ending, no doubt, in chronic insanity, and the history, as outlined in the QUARTERLY REVIEW for January, 1896, furnishes all the data necessary to make an accurate diagnosis. In the first place, although but little information about family history is given, hereditary defect is clearly shown in the father's case. Softening of the brain—the popular term for General Paresis—is given as the cause of his death. He died at 39 or 40, the age at which paresis almost invariably occurs. A physician would require more than a mere statement that the paresis was caused by a person's falling down stairs, as it is a most insidious disease, covering years in its development, and the difficulties in co-ordination in the early stages are often the cause of such accidents as that detailed. However, be that as it may, we have a nervous child (Friedrich Nietzsche) whose father died of softening of the brain (General Paresis) a disease which finds its best soil for development in the neurotic. It is said that Nietzsche did not show any congenital derangement of intellect, but this statement is devoid of importance, for while children often give evidence of defect and want of balance, actual derange-

ment is rare. What is shown, though, is that the child was of neurotic type—abnormal type, if it might be so expressed. "He made no friends, and was too earnest for his years." The boys called him "little clergyman;" they took home stories of his extraordinary acquaintance with the Bible, and how he recited hymns that made them cry, &c. In many respects his accomplishments smacked of precocity. At the age of puberty he was morbid, shy and reserved, cultivating the soil most suitable for the development of paranoia, and he "breathed out in verse that deep depression no anodyne for which was anywhere accessible to him." His melancholy was quite characteristic of paranoia in its early stages, and although he took short excursions out of it, eventually he relapsed into his former condition, until the disease which was already establishing itself became apparent. It is probable that hallucinations were present early in the day, and no doubt the demon who whispered to him when at Leipzig to take Schopenhauer's books home was a very real person to him. It is rarely indeed that paranoiacs in the early stages of disease are recognized as insane persons, although freely classed as "cranks" by those not familiar with disease of the brain. It is also true that many of them have what is little short of genius in some directions. None of them are well balanced though, and in numerous instances the problems of life are those which they endeavour to solve in their own manner, which is ordinarily at variance with that adopted by any one else. In the early stages the idea of persecution is generally present, and this may take the form of a fixed delusion, although not necessarily so; but there is a desire to shun the world full of enemies, and little confidence is reposed in any one for fear that he may prove to be one of the wicked in disguise. As the disease progresses the "ego" generally becomes prominent and finally overshadows everything else. Instead of shunning the world, as he formerly did, the paranoiac asserts himself, although he may have as little faith in the world as ever, and in his importance despises everybody and everything. If his delusions and hallucinations demand it, he will sacrifice much to obtain his end, life if necessary. Riel and Guiteau were cases in point. In the final stage, after excitement has wasted the energy of the brain cells, we have mental extinction or dementia—truly a living death. How closely Nietzsche followed the classical course of the disease the narrative discloses. He was clearly doomed from the earliest day of his existence, and it is doubtful if much could have been done so obviate the tragedy of his life. His story is that of nearly all paranoiacs.

C. K. CLARKE.

## THE COLLEGE.

### REPORT OF THE PRINCIPAL TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES FOR YEAR ENDING APRIL 27, 1898.

#### NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

Undergraduates in Arts (attending).....	287
"      " (extra-mural).....	106
Post-graduates in Arts (attending) .....	13
General students " (attending) .....	19
Students in Practical Science Faculty .....	30
"      Theological Faculty .....	42
"      Medical Faculty.....	111
	—
	608

Or, allowing for double registrations, 589, as compared with 567, 564, 533, 456 and 432 in the five preceding years. Our increase of late has been chiefly in extra-mural students, (who have risen from 38, five years ago, to 106 this year); and this is fortunate, as we have not class-room accommodation in Arts for many more than the 319 now attending. To improve the course for the extra-mural students, we are providing tutors in almost every class, who, in return for small fees, correct their essays and exercises and keep them in touch with the work of the classes. The calendar gives information in detail on this point. Whether increased accommodation should be provided; and if so, whether it should be by erecting a special building for the Theological Faculty, or for a Library and Museum, and then using those large rooms for classes, or whether, in accordance with some better plan, is a large subject and one calling for the fullest consideration by the Trustees and the friends of the University everywhere.

#### DEGREES CONFERRED.

In Medicine, M.D., C.M.....	35
In Theology (Testamurs).....	8
In Practical Science (3 B.Sc.; 2 M.E.; 1 D.V.S.)...	6
In Law (LL.B).....	1
In Arts (66 B.A.; 14 M.A.).....	80
	—
	130

The largest number of degrees ever conferred before was 106, in 1897.

This year three honorary degrees were conferred: in Divinity, on Professor James Ross, B.D., Montreal, and on the Rev. Canon Low, Almonte; and in Laws, on the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister of Canada.

#### LOSSES DURING THE SESSION.

Professor David Cunningham, B.A., M.D., was taken away from the staff of the Medical Faculty by an untimely death, early in the session, just as he was giving promise of a distinguished career. This Faculty has lost five men by death in the course of the last five years.

Two years ago I reported that Mr. John Cormack had resigned the janitorship owing to failing health. He, too, was taken from us in the course of the session, and his death leaves a void not easily filled in the hearts of all who knew his sterling worth.

Last year I reported the retirement of the Registrar, the Rev. Dr. George Bell. This perfect gentleman, the first student and first graduate of Queen's, has since been called away to serve in the sanctuary above, to the great grief of every member of the University.

#### UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

In giving the number of our students, we do not include those in the affiliated "School of Mining and Agriculture," or in the Dairy School, originated by friends of Queen's, but now managed by the Provincial Government, or those in classes connected with various forms of University extension. The most interesting of these forms is the Summer School, which begins generally about the 1st of July, and is attended chiefly by High School teachers. The subjects to be taken up next July (1898), are Animal Biology, by Professor Knight; Chemistry, by Dr. Lehmann; and Latin and Greek, by Rev. A. B. Nicholson. I subjoin a report by Dr. Goodwin of last summer's course:

#### THE SUMMER SCHOOL.

The summer school for 1897 was held as before in July, and was attended by fifteen students. Of these four were intra-mural students of the University, residing in Kingston. They took advantage of the summer session to make progress towards an Arts degree. Of the remaining eleven, three studied Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology as part of an engineering course, while eight were extramural Uni-

versity students studying for Arts degrees. Five of the students were graduates, three of Toronto, one of McGill, and one of Queen's University. The subjects studied were Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology. Six students took Chemistry alone, seven studied Mineralogy and Geology, and two undertook the three subjects. The work done in each subject was mostly of an advanced character, but an elementary course of lectures on Chemistry was given, chiefly for the purpose of helping teachers to correct methods of presenting the subject.

#### SCHOLARSHIPS.

The following report from the Treasurer shows what progress is being made with the Fund in honour of the revered Dr. Williamson :—

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED BY THE TREASURER, J. B. MACIVER, TO THE WILLIAMSON MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND SINCE LIST PUBLISHED IN "QUEEN'S QUARTERLY," JULY, 1897.

R. S. O'Loughlin, M.A., New York (Further) .....	\$875 00
Lavell & Farrell, Smith's Falls, \$100; interest paid (two years) .....	12 00
D. B. MacLennan, Q.C., Cornwall .....	25 00
John Duff, Kingston .....	10 00
J. B. McIver, Kingston .....	10 00
George Y. Chown, Kingston .....	10 00
Rev. Robert Campbell, D.D., Montreal, second instalment on \$50.....	10 00
A. G. McBean, Montreal.....	10 00
Andrew Allan      " .....	10 00
G. M. Kinghorn      " .....	10 00
H. M. Mowat, Toronto.....	10 00
Rev. D. Strachan, Brockville .....	10 00
John McEwen, Smith's Falls .....	10 00
Dr. E. McEwen, Carleton Place.....	10 00
Andrew Bell, C.E., Almonte, second instalment on \$20 .....	7 50
Prof. D. H. Marshall, Kingston.....	5 00
D. M. McIntyre      " .....	5 00
H. J. Wilkinson      " .....	5 00
R. N. McCreary, Carleton Place .....	5 00
Dr. J. V. Anglin, Montreal .....	5 00
Rev. Dr. R. Chambers, Bardezag, Turkey, balance on \$10 .....	5 00
Hon. Mr. Justice Bain, Winnipeg .....	5 00
W. D. McIntosh, Carleton Place .....	5 00
Thomas A. Brough, Owen Sound .....	5 00
Rev. J. M. McLean, Blakeney .....	5 00
W. J. Patterson, Carleton Place, balance on \$10 ...	5 00

Rev. Thomas Hart, B.D., Winnipeg.....	5 00
Rev. J. A. Leitch, Watson's Corners, balance on \$10 .....	3 00
James Redden, Kingston .....	3 00
Prof. W. L. Goodwin, Kingston .....	2 00
Dr. E. Ryan .....	2 00
William Mundell .....	2 00
Dr. A. P. Chown .....	2 00
C. W. Wright .....	2 00
R. J. Carson .....	2 00
John Laidlaw .....	2 00
Rev. J. D. Boyd .....	2 00
Rev. James Carmichael, D.D., King .....	2 00
N. R. Carmichael, M.A. .... "	2 00
Rev. J. A. Sinclair, Spencerville .....	2 00
Rev. G. Macarthur, Cardinal .....	2 00
J. M. Sherlock, Toronto .....	1 00
Rev. G. Shore, Portsmouth.....	1 00
Prof. J. Fowler, Kingston .....	1 00
F. W. Spangenburg .....	1 00
R. F. Carmichael, King .....	1 00
T. McK. Robertson, Kingston .....	1 00
Rev. David Watson, D.D., Beaverton .....	10 00

The Treasurer, or the Principal, or Rev. James Cumberland, M.A., Stella, Convener of the Committee, will gladly receive additional subscriptions or suggestions regarding this fund. We have now reached the minimum sum aimed at, viz., \$2,500, thanks to the liberality of R. S. O'Loughlin, M.A., New York, who has not forgotten his *Alma Mater* or his old Professor, and we venture to entertain a hope that the Committee's maximum of \$5,000 may yet be attained. Such a point is not beyond our ability or the greatness of the man whose memory is being honoured, or the special need of the University in the matter of encouragements to study.

#### BENEFACTIONS.

The subjoined report by the Treasurer gives a statement of the amounts received during the year ending 2nd April, 1898, on Capital account :

Jubilee Fund .....	\$5,380 00
Account Sir John A. Macdonald Chair, from the Honour-	
able Senator Gowen, LL.D. .....	500 00
(Making total, with interest, to credit of said	
Chair, \$3,661.80.)	
Williamson Memorial Scholarship Fund .....	1,163 00
(Making total of this Fund paid in addition to interest being paid on two subscriptions of \$100 each, \$2,319.70.)	

THE COLLEGE.

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Gymnasium Building Fund .....	\$1,766 30
(Making total of this Fund, \$1,966.30.)	
Fund for new Professor in Theology Subscriptions paid to date .....	3,067 89
(Out of which \$450 was taken to pay Lecturers for past session.)	
Endowment Sarah McLelland Waddell Scholarship ; from Hugh Waddell .....	3,000 00
Endowment from Robert Waddell Tutorship ; from Hugh Waddell .....	2,500 00
Endowment Robert Anderson Scholarship ; from executors late Robert Anderson, Montreal.....	1,800 00

Other benefactions to the revenue for the year are acknowledged in the Treasurer's general "Statement of Revenue and Expenditure," appended to this report.

THE FACULTY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE AND THE  
OBSERVATORY.

I commend to the attention of the Board the reports of Prof. Dupuis, Dean of the Faculty and the Observer; and I trust that when the members of the University who take the QUARTERLY read the extracts from them which are published in the July number, they will be stimulated to give a helping hand to make this new Faculty worthy of the man to whose energy and thought it owes its life and steady growth.

THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

One of the great advantages possessed by this Faculty is that the four buildings which concern the students are all contiguous to each other,—the Medical College proper, the John Carruthers Hall, with its admirably equipped chemical laboratories, the Arts building, and the Hospital with its operating theatre. A wing of the hospital was burned down last December, but subscriptions have been given to replace it and to add several improvements, such as special accommodation for consumptive patients, better private wards, and an elevator. By the death of Dr. Cunningham, the Dean has lost a valued assistant, whom it will be difficult to replace. Dr. W. T. Connell's work as Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology proves of increasing interest to the students, and the Faculty is fortunate in having secured such a man to give his whole time to such important subjects.

## THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

The Committee appointed by you last year on an additional Professor for this Faculty came to the conclusion that it would be unwise to make any appointment until the endowment for the Chair had been fully secured; and the success of Dr. Smith in obtaining subscriptions did not warrant them in entertaining any hope that the goal would be reached this year. As an interim arrangement, they appointed the Rev. Mr. Scott, of Hespeler, and the Rev. Mr. Laird, of Campbellford, to give special courses of lectures; and they now submit the names of Rev. Mr. Laird, and of Rev. Mr. Falconer, of Truro, N.S., as lecturers for next session, and also the name of Rev. Mr. Jordan, of Strathroy, to give a course on O.T. Exegesis. The payment for these courses is taken from the fund for which Dr. Smith is collecting.

The Conference of the Theological alumni, held last February, was the largest and most successful yet held. The programme for next February is in the April number of the QUEEN'S QUARTERLY. It is expected that all who attend will prepare on at least one of the topics set down for consideration.

## CONCLUSION.

I submit the reports of the Treasurer, the Dean of the Faculty of Practical Science, the Observer, the Librarian, the Curator of the Museum, and of the Professors of Botany, Physics, and Animal Biology.

G. M. GRANT, *Principal.*

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, KINGSTON, FOR  
THE YEAR ENDING 2ND APRIL, 1898.

*Revenue.*

Temporalities Board .....	\$ 2,000 00
The Professors, Beneficiaries of the Temporalities Board .....	625 00
Rent of Carruthers' Hall .....	1,250 00
Rent of Land .....	140 00
School of Mining &c., for Lecturer on Mechanism .....	500 00
School of Mining &c., for Lecturer on Civil Engineering .....	250 00
Chancellor's Lectureship .....	250 00
Hugh Waddell, Lectureship on Church History .....	250 00
The Robert Waddell Tutorship in Physics .....	150 00
John Roberts Allan, Chair of Botany .....	150 00
Fees .....	10,224 96
Interest on Mortgages and other Securities .....	17,761 32
General Assembly's College Fund—	
Church Agent .....	\$2,196 68
Congregations contributing directly .....	959 25
Receipts for Scholarships .....	3,155 93
	2,253 04

## THE COLLEGE.

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Interest on Jubilee Subscriptions .....	\$ 3,581 57
Special Subscriptions for Revenue .....	421 00
Subscriptions for Practical Science Department.....	300 00
Subscriptions on account of Theological Department.....	450 00
Balance Deficiency .....	8,954 54
	<hr/>
	\$52,667 36

*Expenditure.*

Deficiency, 1896-7.....	\$ 8,955 17
Salaries—Professors and Lecturers in Theology .....	7,975 00
"    Professors and Tutors in Arts .....	24,825 00
"    Other Officers.....	2,341 00
Chancellor's Lectureship .....	250 00
Church Agents Commission on Collections for General Assembly's Col- lege Fund—2 years .....	120 00
Insurance .....	185 00
Library, Laboratories, Museum, &c. ....	2,248 83
Practical Science Department .....	609 49
Taxes, Repairs and Grounds.....	555 68
Scholarship Account .....	2,253 04
Travelling Expenses.....	87 50
Advertising, Printing and Stationery .....	1,504 62
Fuel, Water, Gas and Electricity .....	590 15
Contingencies .....	166 88
	<hr/>
Queen's College, Kingston, 23rd April, 1898.	\$52,667 36

Examined and found correct.

J. B. McIVER, *Treasurer.*J. E. CLARK,  
D. CALLAGHAN, { *Auditors.*

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EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON PRACTICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT.

In presenting the following report on the Faculty of Practical Science, I do so with a considerable degree of satisfaction arising from our past success, and not without some apprehension as to the future.

Remembering that we started in an almost destitute condition as regards accommodation, appliances, teaching power, financial resources, and students, but not destitute of hope and determination, we have every reason to feel grateful for the progress made.

There were twenty-one students working in the shops during the past session, all but six being students in mining, and all but four being freshmen.

The work in carpentry was particularly well done, due to the kindness of Mr. Williamson, one of the best master carpenters of the city, who volunteered his services, and gave a very large portion of his time in overseeing and directing and assisting the students in their work,

Without his services, for which we cannot hope to pay him, I fear that confusion would have reigned supreme in the process of wood-working, for my own time has been so thoroughly occupied that it would have been impossible to have given much of it to this work.

For the machine shop I cannot say so much; for the only instructor, Mr. Jackson, being a student in mechanical engineering, has had so much to do in receiving and digesting instruction, that comparatively little of his time could be given to instructing others. This, however, was not of so much importance, as

only a small number of students were engaged in machine work, and I endeavoured to give my spare time to this sub-department rather than to others. I expect the case to be otherwise next year.

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed statement of the work done or of the things made. Suffice it to say that several valuable pieces have been finished or almost finished, and others are far under way. Of these I might mention a screen shaker and several other things for the school of mining, apparatus for the physical, and for the biological departments, a beautiful machine for use in the mechanical department, with various other machines and models.

With an educated mechanical instructor, who could spend his whole time in the workshops, the University might be saved money each year, by having constructed in the shops valuable pieces of physical and other apparatus which are now bought in foreign markets at a high price.

It is satisfactory to know that so far, with the exception of the purchase price of new machines (and these are there for years to come), the workshops have been self-supporting, *i.e.*, the fees have paid the running expenses.

This is due to the circumstance that very little has been paid for salaries, the work of the shops being done almost gratuitously, or by those who are ostensibly paid for doing other work, and who voluntarily extend their services by giving time and attention to the wants of the shops.

Besides, the cost of heating is remarkably little. The consumption of coal for the whole session is only about nine tons, and upwards of half of this was required to heat water for the baths in connection with the gymnasium.

The janitor's salary is the principal item of expense, amounting to about \$130 for the session; and he attends to the gymnasium as well as the shops.

Having had now two years in the new building, I can pronounce it a most convenient and suitable building, and one that gives a remarkable amount of accommodation for its size. There is just one inconvenience about it, and that is the gymnasium overhead.

Although the building is constructed in the strongest possible manner for the material entering it, yet during gymnasium hours the strain on the building is very great, so much so as to shake articles off the shelves in the shops beneath; and how long the building will endure, without permanent injury, the violent athletics, for one can scarcely call it gymnastics, on its second floor is a question. This matter will probably, however, cure itself in time, for if things progress at their present rate, it will not be long before the whole building will be required for laboratory purposes.

As to the work of Mr. Carmichael and myself, we carry on, not only the large and heavy department of mathematics, but nearly all the mathematical side of the engineering courses as well. During the past session I have had to lecture from twelve to thirteen hours a week upon mathematical subjects. Besides, I devise and design and sketch every piece of work, simple or complex, that is carried out in the workshops, and examine and correct every drawing for the same.

In addition, I have managed to give, on an average, almost two or three hours daily to superintending the work going on; but this time I look upon as my recreation.

Nor is my assistant much better off. For, besides giving me a due amount of aid in the purely mathematical classes, he has had to lecture on electric theory, on

electric machines, and on thermodynamics in theory and practice, besides attending to a great many other smaller, but not less important things.

The present state of affairs is due to the poverty of the College, and I certainly sympathise with the Trustees in their efforts to carry on a large and expanding institution, growing in every part except its revenue, and that, like the proverbial cow's tail, seems to be growing downwards.

I think, then, that there is no difficulty in seeing in what direction we need pecuniary aid.

One of the great needs which will become pressing in the near future is a thoroughly competent professor of Modern Engineering. Not merely a man who can build a railway or a canal, for such things are not classed with high-class engineering in the present day, but a man like the late J. MacQuorn Rankine, who is sufficiently versed in the underlying principles of mathematics and physics to work out and see clearly the *modus operandi* of all the great machines and constructions and processes which have been brought to such a degree of perfection during the last twenty-five or thirty years.

Another desideratum is a thoroughly good and commodious physical laboratory, in which experimentation may be conveniently and profitably carried out on problems connected, among other things, with the great subjects of electricity and heat and light.

A sufficiently good building, of the character of the gymnasium, to be brick veneered when practicable, could be built for \$2,500 or \$3,000. And my feelings are that I certainly would not hesitate to build in wood when funds were not forthcoming to build in stone, and accommodation was a necessity.

N. F. DUPUIS, *Dean of Practical Science Faculty.*

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#### THE OBSERVATORY.

Previous to the death of Dr. Williamson the Department of Astronomy, together with the Observatory, was under his charge. Since his death matters have been changed by the opening of the Practical Science department and the more thorough study of astronomy as an essential part of the honour courses in Mathematics and Physics, as well as well as in some of the Practical Science courses.

It is for these reasons that the Observatory must be of much more importance to us in the future than it has been in the past, and it becomes essential therefore that we should render it as efficient as our means will allow.

The Legislature at Ottawa for insufficient reasons—in fact for no reasons—withdrew the annual grant of \$500, which the Observatory had enjoyed for more than 30 years. A promise has been given that it will be re-established next year.

The building of the Carruthers Hall in its present position has interfered with the usefulness of the Observatory, as it has cut off our view of the eastern sky, the view which is usually of the most importance; and I would suggest that in case of the grant being re-established, some portion of it may be applied to moving the Observatory building westward along the grounds to the rocky ledge bordering on University Avenue.

This would give a much clearer view of the heavens, and furnish the firmest possible foundation for instruments, and in that position it would not be likely to be disturbed by new buildings for generations to come.

I have, since the death of Dr. Williamson, been placed in the calendar of the University as Director of the Observatory. I have to use the Observatory continually in connection with my students, and I have no serious objection to remain as Director if I can have an assistant to act as observer.

Our revered and lamented friend lost his life through a mistaken over-devotion to the Observatory, forgetting that night-work with exposures to the frigid atmosphere of a Canadian winter, with impunity, is a privilege granted only to the young. And although I am his successor in many respects, I do not propose to go and do likewise.

I was in hopes that we might secure the services of Mr. S. A. Mitchell, M.A., one of our graduates, who is distinguishing himself in astronomy at Johns Hopkins University, and whose help would be acceptable in many ways in the expanding mathematical and scientific work at Queen's; but in our straightened circumstances that is scarcely to be looked for.

I would therefore suggest that Mr. Norman R. Carmichael, my present assistant in mathematics, be appointed astronomical observer, or rather astronomical assistant, and between the two of us we may be able to do the necessary work.

N. F. DUPUIS.

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#### THE LIBRARY.

During the past year 916 volumes have been added to the Library, made up as follows:—Purchased, 630; donated, 164; bound periodicals and pamphlets, 122.

Abstract of financial statement from Auditors' Report to 23rd October, 1897:—

Total Expenditure.....	\$1,541 16
Total Receipts .....	1,507 00
Deficit .....	\$34 16

Last year's deficit of \$215.85 has thus been nearly paid off.

Upon recommendation by the Curators of the Library, the Senate thought it advisable to obtain, if possible, a permanent assistant for the librarian. Part of the duties of that position have been performed for the past few years by a post-graduate student holding the Nicholls Foundation Scholarship. The University is to be congratulated upon having secured the services of Miss Lois Saunders as assistant librarian. Miss Saunders possesses in a marked degree the rather unusual combination of attainments and qualities required in one holding such a position.

ADAM SHORTT, *Librarian.*

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#### THE MUSEUM.

During recent years all new mineralogical and palæontological specimens have been deposited in the School of Mining.

The zoological department has received a mounted specimen of a young Newfoundland seal from Mr. James Lee, and a fine American eagle and loon from Mr. McKelvey. Last year's report stated that a large number of botanical specimens had been received during the previous winter. The greater part of the summer vacation was employed in mounting and arranging these, and they are now available for study when required. Within the last few weeks between 600 and 700 specimens have been received from unexpected quarters. Over 400, mostly Fungi, are from Prof. Paul Magnus, Berlin, and 200 from the Biltmore Herbarium,

Biltmore, North Carolina. J. Medley Wood, Government Botanist, Durban, Natal, South Africa, has also informed me that he intends sending a package immediately. All these collections have been sent with a request to exchange. The mounting and arranging of the specimens on hand, the selecting of duplicates for exchange and the preparation of the bundles will involve a large amount of labour and consume all my available time in summer. A number of specimens of Cryptogams have also been received from Dr. A. T. Drummond.

JAMES FOWLER, *Curator.*

BOTANY CLASSES.

Students enrolled in Junior Botany class.....	21
"        "    First Year Honour class.....	5
"        "    Second Year Honour class.....	9
	—
	35

Last summer I accompanied the students in botany residing in Kingston on a series of botanical excursions to different localities in the neighborhood. We succeeded in securing a large number of specimens, all of which have been handed over to the College. Much useful material was thus obtained for class work during the session and for the practical examinations at the close. Consequently, a larger amount of practical work was accomplished by the Junior class than in any previous year. Junior students have no idea of what they require, and cannot collect or prepare useful specimens.

All the members of the First Year Honour class brought collections of plants, which proved useful for themselves and for the Junior class.

The work in the Second Year Honour class, before the vacation, was divided between the Cyperaceæ, Gramineæ and Vascular Cryptogams, a month being devoted to each division. During the latter half of the session the Algae, Fungi including Lichens, and the Musci were taken up for equal periods. All the students furnished bundles of plants, which were useful for the other classes, but of no service to themselves. Like the Juniors, they do not know what they require, and only discover their "wants" as the work of the session advances.

In last year's report reference was made to the fact that the supply of specimens for the use of the class was utterly inadequate, and that additional materials were required. A few specimens were collected during summer in the neighborhood of the city; some were purchased, and others donated by friends, but the number was not sufficient. At present our supply for the first three months of the session is exhausted and must be renewed. The Cyperaceæ, Gramineæ and Pteridophyta I must collect myself, and to do so must visit localities where forests occur. A grant of \$30 would probably cover the necessary expenses.

I desire earnestly to call attention to the fact that the Laboratory is too small. When the table is surrounded by seven or eight students, with their microscopes and books, no room remains for necessary materials. Each student requires a space allotted to himself, where he can arrange his specimens without interfering with others. This is at present impossible. The light is also defective, and on dark days microscopic work cannot be satisfactorily performed.

JAMES FOWLER.

*The John Roberts Allen Professor of Botany.*

## PHYSICS.

Herewith is an account of expenditure in connection with the Physics Department and the balance still in hand. You will observe in the account that \$142 was lent to Prof. Ferguson to purchase special books for the library; \$16 paid to the same to procure maps for his lectures; \$20 to W. C. Baker, M.A., to attend the meeting of the British Association last August; \$100 towards Mr. Baker's salary; and \$193.58 to purchase apparatus for Mr. Carmichael in connection with his lectures on electrical engineering. There were eighteen students who paid fees to attend the laboratory. I think it would be proper on the part of the trustees to allow these laboratory fees to be paid over in future by the Registrar to Mr. Baker, who attends to the laboratory students, and who has shown great enthusiasm in his work. He has now been with me three years, and his greater experience should command more remuneration. I enclose his detailed report of work done during the past session. Besides his work in the Arts Faculty, he had a class during the first term of the session for medical students.

*Physical Laboratory Account for year ending 1st April, 1898.**Expenditure.*

Salary of Demonstrator .....	\$100 00
His Expenses attending British Association .....	20 00
For Maps in History Class-room .....	16 00
Loan to Prof. Ferguson for special collection of books .....	142 00
Two cases storage batteries .....	25 55
Three Voltmeters (Electrical Engineering) .....	157 50
Repairs, cleaning and instruments .....	38 11
Balance in hand .....	164 70
	<hr/>
	\$663 86

*Receipts.*

Balance, 1st April, 1897 .....	\$366 45
Apparatus Fees from Treasurer .....	293 00
Interest .....	4 41
	<hr/>
	\$663 86

D. H. MARSHALL, *Professor of Physics.*

## ANIMAL BIOLOGY.

The total registered attendance in this department during the past session was 104, not including six or eight third year medical students who voluntarily attended the second year physiology for a second time.

The attendance in the pass class in Arts numbered 16; extra-murals, 4; in first year honours, 6; extra-murals, 2; in second year honours, 10.

In medicine the attendance in first year classes numbered 31; in second year classes, 24; veterinary students, 11.

The following is an abstract statement of the receipts and expenditure in connection with the Laboratory:—

*Receipts.*

Laboratory Fees from Arts Students .....	\$202 00
Laboratory Fees, Medicals .....	112 00
Advanced by me .....	42 14
	<hr/>
	\$356 14

<i>Disbursements.</i>	
Balance Overdrawn .....	\$ 58 45
Wages .....	67 50
Apparatus, &c. ....	185 10
Dissecting material and sundries .....	45 09
	<hr/>
	\$356 14

As usual, vouchers for the various payments will be sent to the College Treasurer.

It was pointed out in last year's report that one of the pressing wants of this department was of books of reference. Until we have the books, and the complete sets of magazines, containing the records of past researches in various branches of biology, we cannot begin research work with our advanced students. Although I have been on the look-out during the past two years for copies of such books in the lists of the second-hand dealers, I have noticed none that we could afford to buy. This spring 51 bound volumes of the publications of the Microscopical Society of London were offered for sale at £27 10s., and after consultation with the curators and the librarian, it was decided to order them, but we do not know whether we shall get them or not. As an alternative, we have filed an order for a complete set of the *Journal of Physiology*. Complete sets of *Zeitschrift fur wissenschaftliche Zoologie*, and of *Zoologischer Anzeiger*, are at present available in Leipzig for 3,685 marks (\$920). It would be very desirable to obtain these.

The volumes of *Lancet* should be brought up to date; and complete sets of the *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, *Journal of Morphology* and other standard biological publications added as opportunity offers.

On account of the large expenditure on apparatus and dissecting material last year, it was found impossible to increase our museum specimens, but I hope to do something in this direction during the approaching summer. There is very little room left for specimens in the medical museum, but before this limited space is filled the medical faculty or graduates may erect a building which will enable us to unify all our biological teaching, including museum and anatomy work in one building. Good organisation suggests that this should be done as soon as possible, and done in such a way as to admit of natural expansion in the future, and without waste of space and money.

I have pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the following donations to the Laboratory :—

1. Charts of the anatomy of the human body, from Mr. J. W. Barton, Secretary Young Men's Christian Association, Kingston.
2. Two trays for lantern slides, from Prof. Dupuis. These were made in the University work-shop.
3. Chemicals, from Prof. Goodwin, Director School of Mining.
4. Nose-piece for microscope, from Principal Frith, Pickering College.
5. An acetylene gas machine for furnishing gas for the lantern. Given by the Acetylene Gas Machine Co., of Niagara Falls, Ont.

A. P. KNIGHT.

*The John Roberts Professor of Animal Biology,*

## SKETCH OF THE GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPATE.

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IT would be hard to find in the history of institutions a more pronounced contrast between any two stages in the growth of any one society than that which comes to light if we compare the Christian Church as we find it in the New Testament with the same Church as it is imaged for us after little more than a century and a half in the writings of Irenaeus. Development seems here at first sight to be tantamount, not merely to a radical change of type, but to absolute reversal. The fruit looks like a negation of the seed, and yet we shall find that it is not so. The change may be traced with approximate clearness from point to point through all its links without any break in the continuity. The influences which determined its direction can be indicated, and the generating elements may be seen in the embryo which under the given conditions have produced what one is at first tempted to regard as the contradiction of itself.

We will try in the first place to show the extreme points of the movement—its starting place and goal. Take first the Church of the New Testament.

Surely it will be admitted by everyone, who fairly opens his mind to the natural impressions of the language, that in the letters of Paul to the Corinthians we have a picture of a society which is chiefly remarkable for its total lack of hard and fast official organisation. There is no official machinery for securing even the elementary requirements of decorum. The love-feasts are celebrated in the most disorderly manner. Some begin to eat before the others arrive; one class eat and drink only too abundantly, while others have not enough to satisfy their hunger. Again, there is no special authority to decide who is to receive a hearing. There is an *embarras de richesses* of hortatory ability. Every one brings what he considers an edifying contribution to the spiritual nourishment of the assembly, a psalm, an exposition, an ecstatic utterance, a revelation, an interpretation. Paul recommends with simple good sense that not more than three speakers in tongues be heard at one sitting, each in turn and each followed by an interpreter; two or at most three prophets—the first to sit down when a second arises. It is for the meet-

ing itself to decide immediately which of their zealous orators deserves a hearing. The whole body of the people exercises direct control in such matters; they do not delegate their powers to any official class. Similarly there is no regularly constituted court for trying cases of discipline. No proceedings are taken against the incestuous person until the Apostle himself demands energetic action. Then it is the whole assembly, not any specially accredited persons, who constitute themselves judges. So, too, there are no recognised authorities to whom in virtue of their place disputes between brethren might be referred. They, the society of the future, the saints who are to judge the earth, St. Paul complains, hale each other before the tribunals of Pagan judges! If they must have litigation at all, can they not choose one of their own members as arbiter? The same anarchic condition meets us in the matter of doctrinal disputes. There is no fixed rule of faith forming a constitutive part of the conditions of membership. Some are of Paul, some of Apollos, some of Cephas, some will own no master save Christ Himself. In other words, each is essentially his own authority and tries to gain as many adherents as possible to his own views. Paul as founder, as an Apostle, and in virtue of his own personal ascendancy is recognised at least by the great majority as having a right to a certain amount of consideration. But his power is altogether moral, not official; he is dependent entirely on the response his words find in the intellect and conscience of his spiritual children. He carefully avoids posing as master. He does not claim obedience, except where he is directly conscious of being the mouth-piece of divine revelation. With them rests the responsibility of recognising the stamp of divine authoritativeness in such commands and of discriminating what really is of God and what is not. They have the spirit themselves as well as any man. The activity of their own religious sense can never be dispensed with. They have the right and duty of determining whom and what they are to believe and obey. There is no visible authority to relieve them of that trouble, whose mere word they should be at liberty to accept without more ado. No doubt there are Apostles and Prophets. But there are also false Apostles and false Prophets. Many men call Paul himself a false Apostle, and he is not the man to hesitate about retorting

the charge on some of the most high-flying and pretentious of his adversaries. The ultimate standard, therefore, can be nothing else than the spiritual sense of each individual. Let each see that he love the truth enough to be capable of judging. It is his own fault if he is not.

Now no doubt the Church at Corinth was an extreme case. The extreme lack of orderliness there must not be regarded as the normal state of things in the first Christian communities. All the more emphatically on that account does the inference leap into our eyes that Paul did not look for the cure of the disorders of which he gives so lively a picture—disorders so painful and embarrassing to himself, such a hindrance to his work, and so galling to his just sense of personal authority—to any ecclesiastical organisation. The appointment of officers, the introduction of a definite church constitution with regular functionaries deputed to attend to a fixed sphere of duty and control so obviously suggested as the natural remedy in the case seems never to have occurred to him. Now this is most remarkable. What is the explanation of his forbearance?

The answer takes us directly to the question of the Pauline and New Testament theory of the Church. That theory is that the Ecclesia is entirely independent of any external, statutory organisation, and indeed entirely incompatible with it. The Ecclesia is a purely ideal conception. It is the entire body of those in earth or heaven who believe in Jesus Christ. Wherever He is present there is the Ecclesia with all its and His powers, and He is present wherever two or three are met together in His name. It is essentially a society, only in active relation with his fellows can a man live the Christian life, but a purely ideal society; that is, one which on the one hand expands into infinite comprehensiveness, knowing no limits of space or time, which on the other hand can contract to the very minimum of numbers capable of affording scope for brotherhood, without losing one atom of the entire totality of its functions. The smallest House-Church represents all Christendom, can proclaim the forgiveness of sins, solemnise the reception of a new member, excommunicate an impenitent offender, celebrate the Lord's Supper, accept and ratify revelation of new truth, with no less finality and authoritativeness than the mightiest assembled multitude on

whom the Holy Spirit descends in cloven tongues and fire. Numbers have nothing to do with it, nor external forms, nor the legitimation of any human authority. The spirit of truth has everything ; and that may make two men its organs as well as a thousand men. The deciding circumstance is not count of heads, nor anything else measurable by the senses ; it is conformity with the will of God and the mind of Jesus Christ.

In this society, however, though in all its members there is but one spirit, there exist, nevertheless, great differences of gifts. One man may have had so controlling a vision of the risen Lord that he is driven forth from land to land to proclaim His glory. Such an one is an Apostle. Another may have revelations of new truth which break forth from him in fervid words compelling faith and quickening love. He is a Prophet. Another has the gift of tongues, an ecstatic utterance wonderfully moving, but requiring interpretation into ordinary speech if it is to enlighten the intelligence. Another has a gift for practical management and for wisely directing the steps of younger and weaker brethren in the arduous path of the Christian profession. He is a pastor or governor, and so on. Now each of these gifts implies two things. First, a corresponding duty of service (*διακονία*) on the part of its possessors ; second, a duty of recognition on the part of all Christian people. It is most important to lay stress on this second duty, because it is here above all that we find the point of attachment between the original theory of the Church and the subsequent ecclesiastical and sacerdotal development. One is apt to call the Apostolic Church the most thorough-going democracy ever realised in human society. We have seen that at Corinth the entire assembly acts immediately, even in cases where a delegation of its powers to some smaller body would most naturally have suggested itself. There is, however, one qualifying circumstance of immense significance which goes far to explain how it came to pass that out of this apparently anarchic democracy there eventually developed the most compact and highly centralised organisation the world has ever seen. It is this. Neither the sovereign assembly as a whole, nor any of its members, have any power or any rights in themselves. There is but one authority recognised. That is the spirit and the word of God. When this has spoken the Church has only the right to obey. And

there are in the Church organs through which the Spirit speaks, namely, those who are endowed with the gift of teaching ; that is, above all, apostles and prophets. It is not a matter of choice whether one is to receive the truth uttered by these or not. All are bound to recognise and conform themselves to that. At the same time it is not in virtue of any official position that these gifted individuals can claim obedience, but simply as the mouth-pieces through which the voice of God makes itself heard. God may choose any instrument to make his will known, and it is not confined to any man nor to any special set of men. The spirit bloweth where it listeth. Wherever two or three are gathered together a word may be given to the humblest and most unlikely member of Christ's body, which is no less authoritative for all Christians than the utterances of a Peter or a Paul. Therefore the assembly are not mere passive recipients of the word. They are entitled and bound "to try all things and hold fast that which is good." Whoever the speaker might be, and we have every reason to believe that he might be anyone who felt that he had some message to deliver, they were to try his teaching by the touchstone of that spirit which was universally diffused among them. The free activity demanded of them in assimilating the truth with all the force of heart and mind implies a corresponding energy of rejection in the case of all that was not of God. Hence throughout the New Testament the whole community is held responsible for the doctrine which prevails among them, and not merely the disseminators of that doctrine.

It is, however, as easy to see as it is important to remark, that in this recognition on the part of the freest and most ideal of all societies of an unconditional authority which declares itself most usually and manifestly through certain gifted individuals, there lies the germ of a tremendous official domination. The usual frost which follows the fire of a great creative period has only to fall, the gifts (*charismata*) of the early Church have only to stiffen into ecclesiastical offices, the free operations of the spirit have only to be confined to hierarchical channels and all the unlimited authority rightly claimed for the living revelations of God through Prophets and Apostles will be confiscated for the benefit of ordinary Church magistrates, whose platitudes will claim the faith and reverence due to heavenly inspirations.

We can now answer the question why Paul in seeking a remedy for the disorders at Corinth did not adopt the obvious device of resorting to some kind of administrative mechanism. A formal ecclesiastical organisation of the Church of Christ would have been for him a contradiction in terms. That Church, according to him, was governed by the spirit of God, which must be left free to choose its own organs. Every separate community was entitled and bound to find out for themselves the fit persons to discharge the various functions of their common Christian life, to profit by their services and to submit to their authority just in so far as they recognised in them the mind of Christ. At their own peril it was if they rebelliously fell short or slavishly went too far in their obedience.

Such, then, was the Church of Paul, and indeed of the New Testament generally. Some parts of it, written after Paul's time, like the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and probably the Pastoral Letters, show an advance in the direction of later times and traces of a much more definite organisation than are to be found in his undoubted writings. But it is still true that the essential distinguishing marks of Paul's conception remain fixed throughout the New Testament. This is natural enough. The common sense and religious experience of Christendom gradually selected these writings out of a mass of competitors because it instinctively found in them a certain elevation of spiritual insight which placed them in a class apart, and that level of religious thinking would certainly have proved fatal to the type of ecclesiological speculation which soon meets us—on the very threshold of the Apostolic age.

To recapitulate, the marks of the New Testament Church Theory are these. The entire absence of any fixed authoritative outward organisation, the prevalence of "charismata" or gifts instead of ecclesiastical offices, the free control and untrammeled operation of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is not here confined to any fixed channels. He is not tied down to reveal Himself through certain constitutionally-appointed magistrates accredited for all Christians beyond the reach of doubt by the fact that their ordination is without a flaw. Before the close of the Apostolic period it is clear that formal offices existed in the Church, and that men were set apart to discharge

them in a regular manner and with a fixed ritual, the laying on of hands. But in the first place it was not this ordination which conferred the gift, it was the gift which gave its possessor a claim to ordination. Secondly, the persons so ordained, though the usual, were not the only media of revelation. And lastly, it was recognised that any man's words, whatever might be his office, were to be accepted, not because he held that office, but solely because the hearts of his hearers bore him witness that they were the words of God. The final binding force was the correspondence between the outward revelation in the doctrine of Prophet or Apostle, and the inward light in the minds of all members of Christ's body.

If we turn now to Irenaeus and Cyprian, we find a theory of the Church not merely different from this, but practically the very opposite of it. Here the Church is a perfectly palpable quantity, an external institution visible to all eyes. There are certain outward marks which are indispensable to the true Church. It is not conceivable without a certain fixed legal organisation. It is not now, as once, every assembly of Christian men, though their numbers be a minimum, which can claim the presence of Christ, and with it the power to exercise the entire functions of the Church. In order that any assemblage of Christians can do so, it must act under the direction of properly constituted offices, bishops, presbyters and deacons. No true and valid ministry of the Word and Sacraments is possible without them. And not only so. It is not an ecclesiastical oligarchy we have before us. It is an absolute monarchy. The powers of all officials but one are merely derivative and subordinate. There is in each separate and local community a single head, the sole organ in the last resort of all authority, doctrinal, administrative and judicial. This is the Bishop. Without him there is no Church. Cyprian writes\*: “*Ecclesia est in Episcopo*,” and he goes on to say that whoever is separated from the bishop is not in the Church, and is therefore outside the pale of salvation. The bishop is the successor and representative of the Apostles, and hast the grace of truth (*Charisma veritatis*) in virtue of his office. Therefore he is the only authoritative teacher. He cannot be deposed, even in the case of mortal sin, by his community without recourse to a

\**Epistle 66. 8.*

†*Irén. iv. 26. 2.*

synod of his peers. Cyprian, representing the old tradition of the people's right to depose unworthy officers, opposed this, but the Roman Bishop Stephanus about the middle of the third century succeeded in obtaining a recognition of the principle.

Thus the bishop is raised to a position of absolute sovereignty over his flock. He is absolute in all matters of church government and discipline. Not only is he the authoritative revealer of God's truth ; he has the sole right to apply it to all practical exigencies that may arise. He has in spite of Montanists and Novatians the right of absolution from mortal sin. He is the priest of the community, and properly the only priest. The presbyters are but his shadows and his delegates. He has the entire control of the Eucharist. It cannot be celebrated without his permission—by his own hands or through some one specially commissioned by him. This is the more significant, because the doctrine of a bloody sacrifice in the Mass, the indispensable means of removing sins, is already maturing. The bishop, and no other, offers up to God the atoning blood of Christ, without which there is no salvation. His priesthood is all inclusive and complete. He is the sole representative of the people before God and of God to the people. There is but one check on this tremendous power. So far as the single community is concerned the process of centralisation can go no further ; but as yet the various communities, each with its sovereign ruler, are at least in theory independent and equal. There is as yet no one bishop who claims to be *Episcopus Episcoporum*. Already, however, there are abundant signs that the time for this is also coming. Rome holds a preponderating weight of dignity and influence : the process which has already gone so far has only to advance a little farther in the direct line of its course, the unity of organisation realised in each community has only to be applied to the whole Church and the papacy will be there full-blown.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

(*To be continued.*)

*THE UNNAMED LAKE, BY FREDERICK GEORGE SCOTT.\**

“ With child-faith dead, and youth-dreams gone like mist,  
We stand, at noon, beneath the blazing sun  
Upon life's dusty road, our course half done.  
No more we stray through woods where birds hold tryst,  
Nor over mountains which the dawn hath kissed ;  
In glare and heat the race must now be run  
On this blank plain, while round us, one by one,  
Our friends drop out and urge us to desist.  
  
Then from the brazen sky rings out a voice,  
‘ Faint not, strong souls, quit you like men, rejoice,  
That now like men ye bear the stress and strain,  
With eyes unbound seeing life's naked truth.  
Gird up your loins, press on with might and main,  
And taste a richer wine than that of youth.’ ”

The spectacle of the man who, though he has found the dreams of his youth to be vain, still bears his part in life cheerfully, believing that if he resists what is sordid, selfish and grinding, he will in the end have his reward, and “ taste a richer wine than that of youth,” always inspires, even though the toiler, in keeping his eye fixed upon the goal, misses the joy and the beauty of the things at his feet. In the foregoing sonnet Mr. Scott is probably sketching his own inner life, and other poems in this little volume fill in the picture.

Such expressions as ‘the silences of God,’ ‘the battles of God’, ‘the breath of God’, ‘the bosom of God’, ‘God’s errands’, scattered through the book, reveal the way in which the poet regards his vocation. He at least seeks to believe that nature is, as Goethe has called it, *der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid*, a living dress woven in the loom of time and showing forth the divine mind. The pattern of this garment, to continue the figure, it is the work of the poet to disclose, even when he sings of some special object, since the little flower, as seen by the poet’s eye, contains something of God and man. In sympathy with this view Mr. Scott has spoken of the primal elements of creation as

\**The Unnamed Lake and Other Poems*, by Frederick George Scott. Toronto : William Briggs.

"the dark voids where God went on His ways," and of the stars as "like grains of golden sand which God had scattered loosely from His hand." More than that, in *A Song of Triumph* the poet, using the fact of evolution, has sought to proclaim that nature has been slowly working out the divine scheme, by which

"Man shall behold, in the gold of the firmament passing in heat,  
The face of the Proved and Beloved who descends with the stars at  
His feet."

We have to do, therefore, with a poet who has a serious purpose, not one who finds in a solitary flower a symbol of his own aloofness from the world, not one who calls upon others to take an interest in the ebb and flow of his private moods, not the idle singer of an empty day.

A fastidious reader, when weighing the phrase, 'the silences of God', and the other similar phrases mentioned above, would, I believe, find them somewhat too insistent, and somewhat, also, too inflexible. An idea, held with perfect freedom, will be varied in expression, and will take the form of suggestion rather than of direct announcement. It is not a surprise, therefore, that the general cast of Mr. Scott's idea of God should be, as we may say, theological. The process of evolution, leading onward to the day when man is to find a "throne in the bosom of God," is said to involve the passing of the firmament in heat and the crumbling of the planets in space, and the real harmony of nature and God, without which the divine love is deprived of its substance, seems to be for the time being forgotten. Such a view of God almost justifies the devotee of passion, who refuses to gain heaven by the sacrifice of the joys of earth.

In *A Dream of the Prehistoric*, where nature is regarded as the region of law, the same contrast between nature and God appears :

"But the law, that was victor of old, with its heel on the neck of the brute,  
Still tramples our hearts in the darkness, still grinds down our face in  
the dust."

From this tyranny of law the human spirit escapes into freedom.

"Let us mount in the glory of manhood, and meet the God-Man face  
to face."

The poet rightly dwells upon the union of man with the divine as the completion of human life, but this union cannot be obtained by setting aside nature. It is better to think with Browning that "all's love" and "all's law."

This break between the nature of God on the one side and the physical universe and human want on the other, introduces into Mr. Scott's finest verse a pathetic note of disquietude and estrangement. The sonnet entitled *The Heaven of Love* is an interesting example :

" I rose at midnight and beheld the sky  
 Sown thick with stars, like grains of golden sand  
 Which God had scattered loosely from His hand  
 Upon the floorways of His house on high ;  
 And straight I pictured to my spirit's eye  
 The giant worlds, their course by wisdom planned,  
 The weary wastes, the gulfs no sight hath spanned,  
 And endless time for ever passing by.  
 Then filled with wonder and a secret dread,  
 I crept to where my child lay fast asleep,  
 With chubby arm beneath his golden head.  
 What cared I then for all the stars above ?  
 One little face shut out the boundless deep,  
 One little heart revealed the heaven of love."

A short poem, such as Wordsworth's *Daffodils*, though it does not undertake to justify the ways of God to nature, may yet be so pervaded by the feeling of the beauty, truth and goodness of nature as to create in the reader a confident joy. In this poem daffodils dance in sprightly glee, praising the Eternal, just as of old the little hills had been said to clap their hands. Again, in Browning's *An Incident of the French Camp*, the courage of the lad in planting the flag in the market-place of Ratisbon, and the fine modest pride which sends him, when he has only a few minutes to live, galloping with the news to Napoleon, not only suggests the valour of all the troops on the occasion, but gives us a heightened faith in human heroism. The confidence and joy which exhale from these poems are not different from the hushed sense of unassailable security which takes possession of those who enter into the spirit of a great tragedy. Mr. Scott is, no doubt, well aware of this. Indeed, in order to steep his verse in the

calm faith, which is a characteristic of all great poets, he has only to take more fully to heart his own wise words :

“ But the music poets make  
Is a deathless strain,  
For they do from sorrow take,  
And from pain,  
Such a sweetness as imparts  
Joy that never dies.”

He has to wring joy out of the human heart itself, and also, we may add, out of nature, however hard this task may be, if he is to sing all the notes of “ A Song of Triumph.”

S. W. DYDE.

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#### CURRENT EVENTS.

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MUCH speculation is current these days regarding a possible Anglo-Saxon alliance as the result of the present outburst of cordiality between England and the United States. Some Anglo-Saxons who have closely watched in the present and traced in the past the relations between England and the United States have long held that it only required some such occasion as this to bring out the strong latent sympathy and common interest between them. The very volume and variety of the mutual gibing and teasing in which they were wont to indulge in fair weather, indicated quite plainly the depth and strength of the current which bore them on together. But, although for the moment something has occurred to reveal to the common man the strength and depth of this bond, there is no occasion for either expecting or desiring that it should issue in a definite alliance. Formal alliances are not at all adapted to the Anglo-Saxon temperament, whether English or American. Temporary agreements for specific purposes are all very good when occasion requires. But blanket alliances, intended to be durable and to front the unseen, are, for democratic peoples like the Anglo-Saxons, neither workable nor desirable. Free and independent development of the parts, accompanied by constant intercourse and mutual interchange of ideas, is the only feasible ideal, whether for the Anglo-Saxon world as a whole, or for that scattered collection of variously governed communities which make up the British Empire.

To develop to the greatest possible degree a free and spontaneous intercourse, material and spiritual, between all parts of

the English-speaking world, is an object of the highest importance and worthy of all effort. But when the attempt is made to unite together distant portions by formal bonds, however perfect they may seem at the time, much injury is sure to result and the aim certain to be defeated. This is due chiefly to the temperament of the Anglo-Saxon race, the natural character of their methods of progress, and the rapidity with which the details of modern life, especially in English-speaking countries, tend to change and recast themselves. The most skilfully constructed bonds for mutual support would cease to fit easily almost as soon as adjusted, and in a short time would be found irksome and cramping. On the other hand the free cultivation of a good understanding between the various branches of the Anglo-Saxon world would undoubtedly result, in the hour of need, in a spontaneous outburst of hearty sympathy and active co-operation, such as the stipulated requisitions of the most carefully framed treaty or federation could never equal.

Much the most important outcome of the present war for the people of the United States, is likely to be the raising of the <sup>The United States</sup> question as to whether the United States is to maintain its former integrity, or to set out on a career of <sup>as a Colonial Power.</sup> colonial expansion. In choosing the latter course

the possibilities, alike for the nation itself and for the world in general, are so varied and so momentous that the thought of them may well give pause to its wisest citizens. And indeed the wisest are those who hesitate most, while the ignorant and novelty-struck, being doubtless in the majority, seem quite prepared to launch forth blithe of heart on any sort of expansive course, quite oblivious of the very great change of policy involved. It is impossible to discuss the subject here, we can only mention a few of the important problems to be faced.

To take over any of the Spanish colonies, outside of the West Indies, would involve the giving up of the Munroe Doctrine, the essence of which is to meddle with nothing outside of America and to permit no outsiders to interfere with America. Is the United States prepared to throw over at one heave the parting injunction of "the father of his country," and what has hitherto been her one principle of international politics?

Can a republic, with a constitution like that of the United States, undertake to carry on a colonial system? Have the people of the United States realized that to manage, or rather to refrain from managing a colonial empire is one of the most difficult tasks which a nation can undertake, that only one nation has been at all successful in this line, and that their own separate national existence resulted from a blunder of that nation?

Have they considered what it would mean to assume the control and the responsibility of the old Spanish colonies, mismanaged for centuries and stereotyped in a perverted system of customs, habits, social life and general administration? Are they prepared, as a republic adapted for national not for international purposes, their international machinery being very diffuse, clumsy and slow-working, to undertake that active part in international politics which the possession of a scattered colonial empire must involve?

Should the United States decide on the expansive policy, beginning with the Spanish colonies, the world will no doubt benefit, and in the end possibly the country itself, but in the meantime it will have a bad half century before it, and the indulgence will come high.

So much has been written of Mr. Gladstone since his death that scarce anything worth saying remains unsaid. But of the *Mr. Gladstone.* things that have been said it is worth noting that all the best pens agree in emphasizing, amid his many remarkable qualities, the intensity of his moral nature. From this resulted at once his absolutely dauntless courage and his overwhelming influence with men on all great occasions. What has not been noted so often is that this intensely personal moral quality, while contributing so greatly to his pre-eminence as a domestic statesman, yet led to most of his failures as a foreign statesman. He found it difficult, if not impossible, to judge of states in their relations to each other by any other standards than those which apply to individuals. Hence it is that some of the most troublesome of Britain's foreign difficulties to-day are the results of Mr. Gladstone's one-sidedness in this respect.

His attitude on the Irish question was also determined much more on moral than on political grounds. Even at the very last, after so long an experience as first minister, we find him taking an extreme position on the Armenian question. He sought to force the government to go directly and single-handed to the assistance of the Armenians, regardless of international consequences of the most alarming nature. As is obvious from his many utterances on the subject, he regarded the whole matter from an elementary moral point of view.

How rare, however, to find a politician with such intensity of moral earnestness as the mainspring of all his purposes.

In every way Mr. Gladstone was a thoroughly British product. Nowhere but amid the higher grades of British spiritual life could his great natural qualities have been brought to such rich and full maturity, and it is with the strictest justice that his country may claim a very large share in the honour of his achievement.

It is to be hoped that we shall have an adequate biography of him for a study of the lives of great men is more refreshing and instructive than volumes of theory on life.

A nation is known by its great men, and through them by its great deeds. The lives and deeds of its great men come in time to be the living past of the nation. They are its standards, its self-respect, its conscience. If Canada would truly prove its British connection it must first produce the intellectual, social and political climate capable of bringing to similar maturity the latent powers of those who are potentially her great men.

The coincidence of several whole or partial harvest failures last season has caused an advance in the price of grain. This circumstance has given rise to the usual crop of mushroom alarms about the precarious nature of the food supply.

The British Food Supply. supply of Great Britain. The uncertainty of all earthly things is frequent subject of pious remark or cheap philosophy, not being difficult of proof. If the other strong nations in the world were to unite of a sudden and pounce upon Britain with the object of destroying her it would doubtless fare ill with her; but in such a case there would be much more serious questions to consider than where she might get food. She certainly could not get it from her colonies. So, if some fine morning the earth were to grow dizzy with her whirling and fall into the sun, there would be more serious problems arise than how the change would affect the tariff. It were well before worrying overmuch about the variety of Britain's food sources and the dangers which are possible in transit, to ponder a little the question as to what conceivable combination of circumstances would make it to the interest of the nations to deprive themselves of the benefits of the British markets, especially in this age when national policies are determined no longer on dynastic but on commercial lines. Dependence upon others for the means of life by buying and selling is the rule of modern life for both individuals and nations. Whether is the lot of the citizen more precarious now when he depends upon others all over the earth for the supply of his daily wants, or when as one of a small feudal group he lived under the shelter of a moated castle and with his family produced all his supplies?

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## EVOLUTION IN RELATION TO CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

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READ BEFORE THE MEETING OF TRINITY COLLEGE ALUMNI, 12TH JANUARY, 1898.

THE history of Philosophy is the history of humanity's persistent efforts to solve the great Riddle of Existence. "To the mind as it develops in speculative power the problem of the Universe suggests itself. What is it? and whence came it? are questions that press for solution... To fill the vacuum of thought any theory that is proposed seems better than none."<sup>(1)</sup> In obedience to this impulse the earliest investigators bravely set out upon the quest with their five senses for their sole equipment. With these appliances discoveries were made, and the region of the things known began to be mapped out. But the region that lay beyond was limitless. In constructing the map of the sum of things those sections which had not been explored were filled up by conjecture. The origin of all things was air, was fire, was water, according to the scheme of each several adventurer in the realms of mystery.

The efforts of the investigators were rewarded from time to time by additions to the territory of the known; and so the map required continual reconstruction. Yet, withal, the mysterious, undiscovered country loomed as limitless as ever. But at length the explored area becomes so vast that a division of work takes place: the special departments of Physics and Metaphysics—or of

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1. H. Spencer. *First Principles*. Part I. ch. 2, sec. 10.

Natural Philosophy and Speculative Philosophy—fall into different hands ; and so begins the kingdom of Science, which rules over Physics. The vast stretches of the unknown are claimed by Metaphysic as her sphere of influence : the deeper mysteries—those of Life, Mind, Consciousness, and of what was called the “ Immortal ”—being left to her control.

But Science ever adds to her domain. She constructs appliances to aid her five senses. The lens is used to magnify the things small, to bring closer the things far off : and lo ! two new worlds are now within her scope ; the world of the infinitely great, and the world of the infinitely minute. As her empire extends she divides and subdivides her possessions into special sciences which increase and multiply until, to-day, the number of the various 'ologies seems beyond count.

It is not to be wondered at if Metaphysic grows uneasy the meanwhile : for the religious sentiment is a largely controlling factor in her constitution. We can allow for the spirit in which at one time she might say to Science : “ You may measure the distance of the stars ; you may calculate their motions ; but you can never tell what they are made of ! ” And then came the spectroscope to the aid of the astronomer collaborating with the chemist, till at length Science could boast, “ I do know what the stars are made of ! ” And so, in the border-land of the known and unknown, pass after pass, and fort after fort, and province after province, were captured by Science ; while Metaphysic retreated within the region of the “ Immortal ” and to her fortress of Psychology, where she deemed herself in secure possession.

But Science presses on. The old philosopher said : “ Give me ποὺ στῶ and I will move the world.” Modern Physiology says, “ Give me one speck of protoplasm and I will construct all animated nature.” And when Metaphysic retorts : “ Aye, but that speck of protoplasm is living, and life, with all its mysteries, is beyond your reach,” then Science advances to the attack again. Formerly, with her scalpel exercised on the dead body, she discovered much ; now she uses it on the living organism, and in her audacity exclaims, “ Only give me the due proportions of C, H, N and O, and the proper conditions of atmosphere and heat, and I doubt not I will yet make that speck of protoplasm ! ”

The conflict, waged so long and often so bitterly, seems of late to be drawing to a close. A truce is proclaimed. Metaphysic seems to be less influenced by her old-time counsellor, Religion, and making terms with Science : and even the fortress of Psychology is now under the joint occupancy of the two powers. As a result of the compact Synthetic Philosophy, in the *magnum opus* of Herbert Spencer, has presented a grand and unique system—a nobly executed map of the Sum of Things, with every part of land and ocean outlined—save around the poles.<sup>(2)</sup> We are invited to behold the Universe under one and the same law of Evolution in all its infinite permutations and combinations : one stupendous mechanism with all its parts, organic or inorganic, suns and stars or specks of dust, subject to the joint law of the conservation of matter and the conservation of energy ; one vast and ever-spreading network of life from monad to man ; and even man himself, possibly, but a link between the past and some coming race,<sup>(3)</sup> which, even if this little planet never lives to see it, may be existing now in some of the multitude of globes around us. For Philosophy says to man :

“ This truth within thy mind rehearse,  
That in a boundless universe  
Is boundless better, boundless worse.

Think you this mould of hopes and fears  
Can find no statelier than his peers  
In yonder hundred million spheres ? ”<sup>(4)</sup>

So we see that Philosophy itself, like all things else, has been subject to the law of Evolution, developing from a vague, incoherent, homogeneous beginning to a highly complicated and yet coherent state of thought : and it looks forward to further developments, and doubtless imagines it may yet forecast the

one far-off divine event,  
To which the whole creation moves.

2. “ Positive knowledge does not, and never can, fill the whole region of possible thought.” *First Principles*, sec. 4. See also chap. 3, sec. 21, *Ultimate Scientific Ideas*.

3. See Helmholtz’ Lecture on *The Origin of the Planetary System*.

4. Tennyson. *The Two Voices*.

## II.

But, after all, what is that far-off divine event? And to what extent has philosophy solved the great riddle? Science has discovered to us the grandeur, the vastness, the infinity in unity of the machinery of the Universe. But whence came it? Who designed it? Who controls it? What is the purport of it all? Philosophy is unable to reply, and stands overawed in the presence of the "inscrutable Power that is manifest in the Universe." But let us acknowledge that even in this direction we have to thank her for her achievements. She has cleared the mind forever of the idea which haunted the ancients, that there were many powers, rival powers, powers in eternal antagonism, of whose hostilities and caprices we were the victims. Polytheism has been for ever overthrown by philosophy. She has cleared the mind, too, of the idea which possessed later thinkers, that there must be two antagonistic powers—of Good and of Evil—and that all that is left to us is to

" Trust that somehow good  
Shall be the future goal of ill."

Such dualism has been overthrown for ever by the philosophy which exhibits the Unity of Nature amid all this infinite diversity. But the "inscrutable Power"—the one Power, in all its diverse manifestations—What is it? or Who is it? or *Whose is it?*<sup>(5)</sup>

Mr. Herbert Spencer declares at the close of his researches, with much beauty and dignity of language, that "amid all the mysteries that become the more mysterious the more they are thought about," man is conscious of this, that he is "ever in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed."

Thus, then, Philosophy—after all her centuries of effort, her brilliant achievements, her invaluable accumulations of knowledge—when brought face to face with the Ultimate Reality, confesses her agnosticism, that is to say, her incompetence to

5. Mr. Matthew Arnold in *Literature and Dogma* tells us that all that we can positively know is that it is "a Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness," and bids us rest content with that. "Vacant chaff well meant for grain."

solve the Great Riddle; and in her more anxious moments is ready to cry :—

“ I falter where I firmly trod,  
And falling with my weight of cares  
Upon the World’s wide Altar-stairs,  
That slope through darkness up to God,  
I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,  
And gather dust and chaff, and call  
On what I feel is Lord of all,  
And faintly trust the larger hope.”

### III.

But all this time, through the past nineteen centuries, while human wisdom has been thus developing, there has existed a distinct and independent agency for informing men concerning that which is the essential part of the great problem, viz. : our relations with what philosophy calls the Unknowable, Ultimate Reality, and religion calls God.

This particular agency—the Church of Christ—has been all that while delivering her message, preaching her gospel. That gospel or message is—not that she has elaborated a new and complete system of philosophy, but—that certain events have occurred. She does not profess to “ understand all mysteries and all knowledge ;” but she does profess to have some special information to impart. She declares, not that she has found God, but that God has found her, has brought her into being and entrusted her with a special message to men.

Now this declaration of hers is either false or true. If false, then let her perish, message and all ; and let us all realize that there is no outlook for us save what we can guess out of the riddle of existence. Let philosophy go on busying herself with her abstractions and her antinomies, ever extending her parallel lines in the hope that they may some day meet : let her “ reason high ” of the Unknowable, the Absolute, the Unconditioned,

“ And find no end in wandering mazes lost.”

But, on the other hand, if the Church’s message is true, we may be sure that it will fit with all that is true in philosophy and science. Anyway, as long as she exists she must go on delivering that message. To water it down, to vaporize it and sublimate

it, till it may mean anything at all or nothing at all, is simply a confession of failure.

Now what is the special message which the Church is commissioned to deliver? It is, as we have said, a statement of facts, of certain historical events. One of her earliest messengers thus formulated it :

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.....And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

And he adds elsewhere, and reiterates :

"This is the testimony, that God gave unto us eternal life, and this life is in His Son." "These things have I written unto you.....that ye may know that ye have eternal life."<sup>(6)</sup>

The special message, then, which the Church exists to declare is what we know as The Incarnation. Of course this involves all such events connected therewith as the birth, death and resurrection of the Incarnate Word : events which happened in a way not in the ordinary course of nature, and which from the very nature of things we cannot expect to be repeated, but the results of which are permanent and eternal.

The Church has ever fulfilled her commission. From the days of St. John to those of the Nicene Council, her divines always set forth the fact of the Incarnation : and from the days of that Council unto our own, the Church in her Nicene Creed—her *articulus ecclesiae*—has proclaimed at every celebration of the Divine Service that Jesus Christ, "*Deus de deo.....homo factus est.*"

#### IV.

But there was always a danger of the Church exceeding her commission. It was natural, it was indeed right and proper, that her theologians should not rest content with merely stating the facts, but should exercise their minds in elaborating a philosophy of those facts, in propounding the rationale of the Incarnation. But we must clearly distinguish between their schemes and the Church's message proper. Their office was to "justify the ways of God to man" : the Church's business was, and is, to *declare* the ways of God to man. The Church had proclaimed for a thousand years, "*Deus homo factus est,*" before S. Anselm

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6. S. John I 1, 14; and I John V. 11, 13.

wrote his treatise, "*Cur Deus homo?*" Previously to Anselm S. Augustine and others, and subsequently to Anselm the various schoolmen, propounded each his own theory of the rationale of the Incarnation (or as we usually phrase it, the "Plan of Salvation," each theory differing in some points from its predecessors or contemporaries, until there appeared the conflicting theories of the two famous rival doctors, S. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, to whom we shall refer later on.

All these schemes were naturally coloured by the philosophy of the day. Each theologian strove to extract what he deemed "the soul of truth in things erroneous"<sup>(7)</sup> of the systems in vogue among the thinkers of his time. So did St. Paul, when he pointed out to the men of Athens that they were worshipping a God confessedly unknown, and added, "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship him declare I unto you." So did St. John; living in his old age in Ephesus, among people well acquainted with Philo's doctrine of the Logos, he extracted that "soul of truth" from among the "things erroneous" of the famous Alexandrian, and embodied it in his message when he told us of

"The Heavenly Word proceeding forth  
Yet leaving not His Father's side."

And so did the succeeding apologists of the Church, each taking what he conceived to be the "soul of truth" in Greek and Alexandrian philosophy and adapting it to the message which the Church had to deliver.

As science developed, it became necessary that theology should rectify her schemes in accordance with the new learning. She was slow to do so, we admit. That she long resisted, and often with bitterness, the new pronouncements of Science, is not to be wondered at. It is human nature, and especially metaphysical human nature, to hate to have one's notions and ideas upset. Yet many scientific writers of to-day make great capital out of this. Mr. A. D. White's learned and most interesting work, *The Warfare of Science with Theology*,<sup>(8)</sup> and Dr. Draper's

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7. See the opening sentence of *First Principles*.

8. *The Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* by A. D. White, LL.D., etc., in two volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. In this work the author heaps up every bitter word or hostile act of which Theology was guilty through the centuries. And very sad reading it makes. It should humble us to

well-known book, *The Conflict Between Religion and Science*, are instances. The late Professor Huxley once said that "extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science, as the strangled snakes around that of the infant Hercules." They do, no doubt ; but so do extinguished scientists and extinguished philosophers lie around the cradles of later born wise men.

If the Copernican system of astronomy had been in vogue in the 4th century, no doubt the fathers of the Church would not have written many things they did write, but that would not have affected their faith in the Incarnation. For the Church was not founded to anticipate science, nor to do away with the necessity of men using their faculties in their search for knowledge.

Theology, then, like every other science, is capable of development, and theologians, like other mortals, may rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things in accord with the learning of the day ; although the original deposit of the "Faith which was once for all delivered to the saints" must remain ever the same. While insisting upon this the Church does well to allow ample room to her theologians to ventilate the question, "Cur deus homo?" If she ever dogmatically asserts the scheme of such or such a doctor to be the only absolutely correct one, she exceeds her commission, she is acting *ultra vires*, and is sure to come sooner or later into collision with science, as alas ! she has too often done.

v.

And now for the question, How is Theology affected by the new learning of to-day? What direction should Evolution give to Christian thought ? At the outset let me lay down two propositions :

1. Evolution is now too thoroughly established to be resisted or ignored by Theology ; and

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see how constantly theology strove to divert or stem the advancing tide of science. But it is well to " see ourselves as others see us;" it may prompt us to avoid, in these days of enormous increase of knowledge, the Church's obscurantist policy in the past. As a corrective to the unpalatable diet, I would recommend the noble words of Mr. H. Spencer in the 5th chapter of Part I of *First Principles*, especially the 32nd section, which closes with the words, "And so we learn that theological conservatism, like political conservatism, has an all-important function."

2. Evolution has entirely reversed our whole view of things. It has revolutionized all philosophy.

1. Let us fully understand that Evolution is a philosophy of the whole, and not a doctrine of one particular branch of science. It affects Astronomy, Chemistry, Geology, Philology, Ethnology, Sociology, Psychology, as well as Biology. It does not mean simply and solely that man is the product of some tailless monkey. Darwinism is an important factor, but it is only one factor elucidating one phase of the general law. In the words of a great thinker of the day: "We regard the law of evolution as thoroughly established. In its most general sense, *i.e.*, as a law of continuity, it is a necessary condition of rational thought. In this sense it is naught else than the universal law of necessary causation applied to forms instead of phenomena. It is not only as certain as—it is far more certain than—the law of gravitation. The day is past when evolution might be regarded as a school of thought. We might as well talk of gravitationist as of evolutionist."<sup>(9)</sup>

2. Evolution has entirely reversed our whole view of things. To be sure every great discovery revolutionized in measure the previous philosophy, and startled and exasperated the devout upholders thereof. The Copernican astronomy, in shifting the whole world of thought from a geocentric to a heliocentric view of things, must needs have given it an awful wrench. The Church stoutly resisted, we know, but she got bravely over the shock. Newton's discovery of gravitation, too, created a similar revulsion. The seniors among ourselves can remember what searchings of heart were caused by the conclusions of Geology as to the antiquity of the earth and of man. But to-day the students of our Universities and High Schools are taught these things as matters of course.

But far beyond these great departures has Evolution modified, I might say overthrown, the old philosophy. We see its very foundation changed, its dominant idea reversed. That reversal I would express in this way :

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9. *Evolution and its Relation to Religious Thought*, by Professor Jos. Le Conte. New York : D. Appleton & Co. Part III, chap. 1. It is well known that leaders of thought in the Anglican Church, *e.g.*, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the authors of *Lux Mundi* accept Evolution.

1. From the dawn of Greek philosophy to our own day the dominant idea was, There is something lost which we are seeking to recover.

2. From now henceforth it will be, There is something never yet attained towards which we tend.<sup>(10)</sup>

The idea of "something lost" pervaded all Greek thought. We trace it in the legends of the Golden Age, of the departure of Astræa, of Demeter and Proserpine, of Prometheus and Pandora, and many others. In fact all mythology, both Aryan and Semitic, was full of it. Even Plato's doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul was based on the idea of its pre-existence, and that idea was based on those "reminiscences" which flash across the minds at times as if they were faint memories of some departed, and generally happier, state of existence. Now-a-days the scalpel of the vivisector has enabled him to account for those "reminiscences" in a much more prosaic way.<sup>(11)</sup> And the whole structure built on the fancy—whether mythological or philosophical—of "something lost" has toppled over, under the pressure of Evolution as displayed in Geology; for there is no place in its records for any Golden Age.

#### VI.

"But," says the critic, "if the doctrine of 'something lost,' the doctrine of the Golden Age, must go, the Biblical story of the Fall must go with it; and if the doctrine of the Fall goes, the Christian doctrine of the Atonement must go with it." And we are recommended to throw over the Old Testament, as being only a "mill-stone around the neck of Christianity."<sup>(12)</sup> Our answer is, the Old Testament is not a mill-stone round the neck of Christianity, *if properly used*. If we read the Old Testament as we ought to read it, as a record of the gradually increasing light vouchsafed to Israel, beginning as a talk to those who were mere "children in understanding," and becoming more and more advanced in its teaching through the fifteen hundred years of its compilation; if we erase from our minds everything we

10. I beg to refer to an article of my own, *The Old Theology and the New Philosophy* in *The Open Court*, Chicago. December, 1895. No. 433.

11. In Dr. Draper's *Conflict between Religion and Science*, p. 132, they are called "vestiges of ganglionic impressions."

12. *Guesses at the Riddle of Existence*, by Prof. Goldwin Smith.

have read into it from the classics, we shall find the Old Testament not a mill-stone round the neck of Christianity; rather it will prove the ballast for the Ark of Christ's Church. But we must throw overboard a good deal in the matter of mediaeval accretions to the ancient deposit of the Faith. In extracting the "soul of truth from thing erroneous," the fathers often pulled up with it a good deal of the mould of crude pagan thought; and it would be interesting to study its accumulation in theology.

We have said that the Ante-Nicene divines dwelt upon the fact of the Incarnation. "Deus homo factus est" was their theme; and they were mainly occupied in defining the terms, so to speak, of that proposition. From the Nicene Council onward the fathers undertook to answer the question, "Cur deus homo?"<sup>(13)</sup> And I think we shall find that from S. Augustine to Anselm, and from him to S. Thomas Aquinas, the "Plan of Salvation" was made to depend more and more on the doctrine of a primeval state of perfect bliss, which was lost by "man's first disobedience." The outline sketch, in the first three chapters of Genesis, drawn with a few bold strokes by an Oriental hand, and therefore steeped in Oriental idealism and symbolism, was filled in and touched up and coloured by successive artists of the Post Nicene and Mediaeval schools, with material drawn from classic sources, until at last a completed picture is given us in that wonderful poem of Milton's—that sublime blend of Hebrew Scriptures, Homer, Hesiod, and Ovid's metamorphoses—which he named *Paradise Lost*.

Now this idea of a *Paradise Lost* is irreconcilable with the new learning. *Paradise* must be looked upon, not as something to be "Regained," but as something not yet attained towards which we tend.

And be it observed that the Holy Scriptures lay no such stress as does the conventional theology, on the idea of a primeval Golden Age. St. Paul does indeed speak of our sinful and mortal state as inherited from the first Adam; but that is a fact—a scientific as well as theological fact—which there is no dis-

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13. Draper's *Conflict*, etc., chap. II. Archbishop Thompson on *The Death of Christ* (Essay VIII in *Aids to Faith*). *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*, by H. N. Oxenham; introduction and chaps. 2 and 4.

puting, and that statement is quite compatible with an evolutionary, instead of a catastrophic, interpretation of Genesis. St. Paul never alludes to a primeval state of perfect bliss, which was lost. Indeed the idea of something lost is foreign to the whole New Testament theology, whether "Pauline" or "Petrine" or "Johannine;" but the New Testament is fairly saturated with the idea of something never yet attained towards which we tend.

The last among the scholastic theologians to develope this "Plan of Salvation" was S. Thomas Aquinas; but there was a rival system propounded by that sturdy Briton and Oxford Professor, Duns Scotus. Among the hair-splitting metaphysicians of those times, the question naturally arose: What if Adam had not disobeyed? Would the Incarnation then have taken place? "No," said Aquinas, "it would have been needless." "Yes," said Scotus, "the Word would have been made flesh all the same, in order to raise man to a still higher level; to impart the vital principle of a still higher life." The Scotists were on the right track, in this matter at all events. And if we read our Bibles in the light of modern thought, we shall see that this is its teaching throughout. The Christ comes to give to man something never yet attained. And what is that?

#### VII.

Science tells us that there has been an evolution of life, a gradation from the simplest organic form to man. The Old Testament recognizes every such life—*human life included*, be it noted<sup>(14)</sup>—as נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה in LXX ψυχὴ ζῶσα. This "Life" is therein attributed to the Spirit of God, whom we acknowledge in the Creed as the Lord, the Life-giver—the Giver of all grades of life—organic life, animal life, human life, intellectual life, ethical life, spiritual life—and there the Old Testament stops. But in the New Testament the Incarnate Word says, "I am come that they may have life, and that they may have it abund-

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14. In the English versions—both authorized and revised, of Gen. II. 7, we read, "Man became a living soul." The term "nephesh chayah" is rendered "living soul" in this verse alone, although precisely the same term had been predicated of every beast and fowl and fish, and "everything that creepeth upon the earth," in the first chapter. Evidently this was done by our translators in order to differentiate man from other creatures. But the original does not so differentiate.

antly." This "abundant life" is called throughout the New Testament by a new name<sup>(15)</sup>—"Eternal Life." In Preb. Sadler's *The Second Adam and the New Birth* and his other works, this thought of the gradation of life is worked out. The passage, 1. Cor. xv. 45-50, read in the original shews more strikingly than any translation can do, the antithesis between the "psychic life," which is *inherited* from the first Adam, and the higher life which is *imparted* by the second Adam.

As to the nature and potentialities of this Eternal Life, "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man to conceive the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." The Lord before His sacrificial death said, "In my Father's house are many mansions: I go to prepare a place for you." What is the Father's house? Surely the whole boundless Universe! And where are its many mansions? Why, all around us, wherever the eye, aided by the telescope, can reach—those "hundred million spheres," the "multitude of the heavenly host which no man can number," compared with any one of which our little earth is but a speck.

What an infinite field has Science opened out for the roaming of Christian imagination! which, nevertheless, cannot lose itself so long as it is tethered to that pillar of the truth, the Incarnation of the Word, and finds its resting-place on His assurance and His promise—"I am the Way, the Truth and the Life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me." "And this is the promise that He hath promised us, even Eternal Life."

G. J. Low.

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15. It only occurs (in the Old Testament) in Daniel XII. 2, and in 2 Maccabees VII, 9 and 36.

## SKETCH OF THE GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPATE.

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### II.

WE saw in last number how great a gulf separates Paul's theory of the Church from that of Irenaeus and Cyprian. Paul's ideal and invisible Ecclesia has become a perfectly palpable external organisation. The free gifts of the incalculably operating Holy Spirit have changed into legal offices. They are now the official perquisites necessarily attached to a flawless installation called ordination. An ecclesiastical hierarchy has intervened between man and God as the indispensable channel of communication. The Church essentially consists of its magistrates; the laity are an inert mass, passive recipients of truth and salvation. They are expected and required merely to shut their eyes and open their mouths as it were. The original universal priesthood of all Christians has been confiscated in favour of a governing class.

This whole externalising process has consummated itself in connection with the growth of the episcopal power. The history of the Episcopate is the history of the crassification of Christian ideas. We will now glance at the chief stages of the evolution.

The imposing Sovereign-Bishop and High Priest of Cyprian was, like many other great men, the descendant of very humble progenitors—the son of poor, but honest parents. About the year 60 A.D., in the letter to the Philippians, we hear for the first time of certain officers called *ἐπιστολοποιοί*. They are evidently a sort of board, or committee. The fact that they first appear on Pagan-Christian soil and the kind of qualifications consistently laid down as proper to belong to them lead to the suspicion that they were originally borrowed from those private associations or clubs which play so large a part in the social life of the Graeco-Roman world at this time. At any rate it is plain that their primary duty was the control of Church finance, and that they were not at first specially identified with the most important and highly-esteemed function of the early Church, the ministry of the Word. That was the province of Apostles, Prophets and Speakers in Tongues; the men endowed with the charismata

of inspiration. Compared with these, in a society so predominantly set upon purely ideal aims as the early Christians, the Bishops, with their sober, practical gift of looking after matters of business, naturally occupied an extremely humble place. In such a society, however, it must be remembered on the other hand, even the most commonplace duties were lifted into a higher region by an all-pervading spirituality. The property managed by the Episcopoi was "the household of God;" they were "God's stewards;" and, moreover—a fact of immeasurable significance for their future—they were thus brought into direct connection with the most sacred and mysterious act in the whole Christian cultus, the celebration of the Eucharist. For the Church goods administered by them were the free-will offerings of the faithful, a sacred oblation solemnly offered up to God and consecrated with prayer—prayer and gifts being the only sacrifices recognised at this time—and thus transformed from their coarse material substance into the aliment of the spiritual life. The Christian love-feast was in the highest sense of the word a "convivium," a fellowship in living to God. But this beautiful and characteristic conception that even the physical life of man has been redeemed in Christ and is in Christian society raised to a higher plane as the vehicle of the spiritual life, its very nutriment, "wretched food and drink," transmuted into the texture of the immortal nature; the mystic idealism of this thought was peculiarly liable to degenerate, as it did not fail to do, into a crass external dogma of bloody sacrifice, and of course the more such superstition gained ground the higher rose the importance of those associated as ministrants with the mysterious rite. It was a circumstance of all-inclusive moment for the growth of the Bishops' power that they were from the very first closely connected with the single ceremony of the Church which contained the germs of unlimited development in the direction of sacerdotalism and superstition. At first, however, the decisive act of consecrating the elements did not fall to the Bishops. They merely collected, and with the help of the deacons, an ancillary class of officers who are in a very significant way regularly associated with them, distributed the offerings of the Love-Feast and Eucharist to the guests at the Lord's Table, and the surplus to the recipients of Church bounty. But in the presence of an

Apostle, Prophet, Teacher, or even Confessor, the Bishops were originally dumb. It was those who spoke the prayer which gave a new character to the fruits of the others' collecting industry. Only in their absence did one of the Bishops venture to take their place. And, as we learn from the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (about the end of the first century) while Prophets and Teachers spoke as the Spirit prompted them, so small was the endowment in this kind expected from Bishops, that they were bound down to a regular form of prayer which this treatise prescribes. From this it is plain that the presidency of the Eucharist, the most distinctly priestly function of the early Church, was conceived as necessarily going along with the charismata of teaching, and that the Bishops were at first not at all or in a very faint degree credited with that charisma.

However, the same treatise plainly shows that at the time when it was written (about the end of the first century) the gifts of inspired teaching were already on the wane. It may easily happen, we find, that no Apostles or Prophets are to be had. In that case a makeshift substitute is to be found in the board of Bishops. The writer intreats his correspondents not to despise their Bishops, because, after all, they do discharge the services of Prophets and Teachers. We see, then, that the cooling down of the first enthusiasm in the Church has a two-fold effect in favour of the humble local officials of each community; first, they become the only commonly available persons for the discharge of the highest functions, the ministration of the Eucharist and Teaching; second, in its present less exalted and less exacting mood the community are more apt to be content with them.

Another circumstance contributes to their rapidly growing importance. A Tradition of Apostolic Doctrine has already been formed. This is threatened by the inroads of that fantastic speculative tendency which afterwards attained its full expression in the systems of Valentine and Marcion. Agnosticism in embryo is already threatening to break up the Church into fragments and to dissipate the historical content of Christianity. It is in Asia Minor, the home of Paul's Churches, that this fermentation is most active. Paul's successors, however, have not that unlimited faith in the unassisted power of truth and the omnipotence of the Spirit which he had. They are not so sensitive

about "quenching the Spirit." The Pastoral Epistles and the letters of Ignatius show very clearly that the main breakwater against the rising tide of heretical speculation, which reached its flood in the days of Irenaeus, was found from the beginning in that same consolidation of the Bishops' power, and that same extension of their functions as teachers and guardians of the Apostolic "Deposit," which we see in this Father carried to its extreme point under pressure of the same exigencies in a more advanced and acute form. The alarming spread of heresy tended to limit the original right of free teaching. In the Pastorals the Bishop as chairman of the assembly so to speak, appears invested with the power of shutting the mouths (*ἐπιστομίζειν*) of unedifying speakers. And the whole scope of these letters is to fix as a definite rule the irresistible trend of things towards investing the regularly ordained Church officers with the sole prerogative of teaching. They are, of course, the natural guardians of Tradition. They are saved by their very mediocrity from the dangerous neologising impulses of original thinking. Your prophet is always perilously individual and cannot merely repeat without variation the "sound form of words." Your Church officer is liable to no such temptations. It were well, then, in a time of unbridled speculation, when every day brings forth some new fantastic birth of heresy, that the latter should, as much as possible, retain the ministry of the Word in his own safe hands. A curious method is resorted to in order to encourage him to do so. It is recommended that Presbyters who teach should receive a double honorarium, a double share of the Church goods. The silence as to prophecy in these letters is very significant. We might fancy that at the time when they were written Prophets had ceased in these regions. This, however, was certainly not the case. In the Apocalypse, about the end of the first century, we still meet with a prophetess at Thyatira. The natural inference is that Prophecy, once ranked so high, is now severely ignored, because in the changed circumstances it is considered to be "of dangerous and unsettling tendency."

The Pastoral Epistles, however, though showing abundant traces of the new direction towards a fixed official organisation of the Church, still remain on the level of New Testament religious

thought. The first document where we feel that we are in a different atmosphere is the Epistle of the Roman Clement to the Corinthians, which belongs to the close of the first century. Here already we have before us a full-blown ecclesiasticism. It is the first unmistakable proclamation of the sacerdotal programme and emanates from the proper quarter—Rome. Most interesting it is to notice how the whole spirit of the Old and the New Rome, the strong instinct for law and order, uniformity, discipline, the organising and governing impulse are joined in this letter to a no less characteristically Roman feebleness of speculative grasp. Clement is a mere second-rate pulpit orator, who thumps the desk a good deal. His theology is barren and foisonless to a quite extraordinary degree ; his whole philosophy is comprehended in the maxim of the respectable Mr. Bagnet, that “discipline must be maintained.” All the more on that account, and with all the more practical effect in this rough world, does he throw himself with the undivided energy of a strong though narrow nature on the single point of external order. The Corinthians have fallen into disorders. They have deposed their Bishops ! In favour of some non-official outsiders, probably Confessors, they have exercised the ancient right of the assembly to entrust the conduct of the Eucharist to any one they might happen to choose. Clement thinks this is a very serious sin on their part. He practically claims for the board of Bishops when once appointed a tenure *ad vitam aut culpam*. None but they should be allowed to preside at the Lord’s Table or have the management of Church property. There is in his eyes an inviolable divinity which doth hedge a regularly appointed Church official. “The Apostles,” he says, “foresaw that there would be strife about the Episcopate,” that is, about the presidency of the Eucharist, and therefore they took special pains to “establish their first-fruits (their earliest converts) as Bishops and Deacons, and provided that after their death other well-approved persons should succeed them.” This arrangement of the Apostles is of course to be regarded as a Divine ordinance, because “the Apostles were sent by Christ, and Christ by God, and therefore it cannot be right to depose from their office those who have been appointed by the Apostles, or later by other men of repute with the consent of the whole

Church." "It is a grievous sin to remove from the Episcopate such as have presented the offerings (the prayers and gifts of the community) in a blameless and holy manner." Nay, Clement believes that not only the indefeasible tenure of the Bishops, but also the whole external order of the Church, as it is usually observed, is divinely obligatory and unchangeable, and rests on the authority of Christ himself. "Everything must be done at proper times and places, and by the proper persons." The ritual of the new dispensation is no less definitely fixed than that of the old. It is the first expression in Christian literature of the sacerdotal thesis in all its naivete and crudity.

Now this Epistle had an extraordinary success. Not only did it accomplish its immediate object in reducing the refractory members of the Corinthian Church to subjection, it continued to be read on Sundays in that church as if it had almost the authority of Scripture and indeed had a very narrow escape of being included in the Canon ! The views it advocates are not merely the personal opinions of the author or even the prevalent opinion in his church. They represent the general tendency of the time and did not take long to crystallise into universally valid regulations.

Already, then, by the beginning of the second century we see the Episcopal power has taken these great strides. First the board of Bishops are to have a *de jure* life office to the exclusion of all others from their characteristic functions. Henceforth, none but one of their number can preside at the Eucharist. Originally, we saw, if a Prophet or inspired Teacher was present this duty naturally fell to him, and, as may be inferred even from this epistle itself, the assembly had the unlimited right of appointing the officiating person on each occasion. The most important innovation contended for by Clement is that henceforth the choice is to be limited to the board of Bishops. For them is claimed *de jure* and *de jure divino* the exclusive right to discharge the most important functions in the ritual of the Church. This manifestly makes the greatest difference in their position. They are raised to the rank of a priestly caste. The priestly quality, which according to Paul belonged to all members of Christ's body—so that any one of their number was capable of offering the gifts of the brethren and so that the

person actually officiating was merely the representative of the priestly power of all chosen freely by the assembly on each occasion, this priestly power is now confined to a special class of officers. Hence, very significantly they are compared to the priests of the Old Testament, and the non-official multitude are sharply set against them as *laymen* whose sole duty it is to obey. Again we have very plainly indicated here the theory which afterwards played so important a part—Apostolic succession. God sent Christ, Christ sent the Apostles, the Apostles appointed in various places the boards of Bishops; by which *catena*, the board of Bishops is invested with the authority of God. Once more, it is not in any place or at any time where two or three are gathered together that the functions of the Ecclesia are to be found in full operation. It is only at properly fixed places, at set times and with regularly empowered officers. That is to say—no church, save where and when the Bishops have called a meeting; no church without their authority and presidency. It is clear that only one thing is needed to complete this concentration of power. When once the step is taken which is suggested by many things—convenience in managing church property, for instance, and in sustaining the intercourse with other churches, and, above all, effective strength in dealing with false doctrine—when once the priestly, apostolic and generally all-inclusive prerogatives of the board of Bishops as laid down by Clement, are united in the hands of one Bishop, we shall have the Catholic Church mature.

It was not long before this important step was generally consummated. By the end of the second century it may be said to have become the universal theory that the presidency of a single Bishop was necessary to constitute a true Church. We find namely, that while the heretical (gnostic) communities which broke off towards the middle of the second century still clung to the ancient freedom and recognised no single Bishop as having a permanent right to the administration of the Eucharist, in the year one hundred and ninety-nine on the other hand Natalius is set up by the Monarchians as a rival Bishop of Rome over against Zephyrinus. This event may be interpreted as marking the final victory of Uninominal Episcopacy.

By the end of the second century, then, we find the monar-

chical Bishop established even among heretics. Not long after its beginning, in the letters of Ignatius we find him already a fixed institution at least in the churches of Asia Minor. This region, the seat of Paul's churches, seems to be his home. There appears to be good reason to think that he is already present in the Pastoral Epistles. Strange that on Paul's own ground should have sprung the institution which was to metamorphose Paul's conception of the Church and rejudaise Christianity! Strange yet not unaccountable! Paul had laid stress on the Christ according to the Spirit as opposed to the Christ according to the Flesh—the historical Jesus. It was natural enough that he should have been followed by some disciples "who bettered his instructions." The abstract tendency of Paul's doctrine, produced to exaggeration and caricature, was the characteristic note of Gnosticism. And the beginnings of Gnosticism in Asia Minor seem by reaction to have brought forth Uninominal Episcopacy, the rock on which full-grown Gnosticism subsequently split.

The Churches of Asia Minor, then, as they are reflected in the letters of Ignatius, are exposed to an incipient form of Docetism. The great bulwark against this danger, the only safeguard of the Church's unity, is, in the martyr's eyes, the power of the one Bishop, who is evidently already established in all the communities he knows. He earnestly labours, therefore, to increase this power. His one theme in all his addresses to the Churches in Asia Minor is "Hold fast to your Bishop, be one with your Bishop." The real contribution which these extraordinary and much disputed Epistles make to the growth of the Episcopate seems to be one already anticipated to some extent in Clement, but still needing enforcement, and insisted upon here with almost monomaniacal iteration and intensity, that only the assembly, presided over by regular officers, Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, is in any given place to be considered as capable of exercising the functions of the Ecclesia. The ancient right of Christians to assemble anywhere, whether in conjunction with specially ordained persons or not, and there to represent the totality of Christendom with all its powers, must cease. It has become dangerous. The whole region is honeycombed with heresy. Everywhere there are smaller or larger coteries of heretics who cannot be recognized as belonging to the true

Church. Henceforth there is to be in every place one assembly, with its Bishop presiding, and all Christians must adhere to that on pain of ceasing to be members of Christ's body. Only where the Bishop is, there is the Church. The significance of Ignatius is not that he is the advocate of Uninominal Episcopacy ; that he takes for granted ; but that he is the herald and fervent supporter of the principle, soon as we saw universally recognised, that the words of Jesus, "wherever two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them," are no longer to be accepted in their full sense as the law for Christian assemblies. They are, on the contrary, to be interpreted, or rather contorted, into meaning "wherever the Bishop is, there is Christ." Ignatius' doctrine did not pass without a struggle, but, as we saw, by the end of the second century, its victory was complete.

By the time of Irenaeus (about 170 A.D.) Gnosticism, nascent in Ignatius' day, is now mature. The great systems of Valentine, Basilides and Marcion have arisen. Irenaeus' life-work is to combat them. And for this he has an invincible weapon ready to his hand in the authority of the already fully consolidated great Churches, each organized into iron unity under the headship of its sovereign Bishop. The substance of Gnosticism, as already indicated, is that it is an exaggerated Paulinism, an evaporation of the historical content of Christianity. The man Christ Jesus is reduced to a mere phantom, and thus the old abstract dualism—God on the one side removed to an infinite distance, man and the world on the other—the transcendence of which was the very essence of Christianity threatened to be restored. The inevitable method in refuting this was to appeal to the historical facts of the life of Jesus. But the Canon was then only in process of formation, not fixed beyond controversy for all. What, then, was the standard to appeal to ? Naturally tradition. But who were the depositaries of the true tradition ? In the first instance, of course, the Apostles, and then the great Apostolic Churches, such as Rome, Jerusalem, Corinth, Ephesus. Here, then, we have the whole procedure of Irenaeus. The Apostles, who, of course (as Clement had already discovered) knew everything, took special pains in view of the disorders destined to arise in the Church, to appoint proper persons as

Bishops in each community they founded. To these they handed over the entire "deposit" of Christian truth (as if it were a sack of wheat) which they in turn passed on to their successors! Apart from this great advantage the Bishops have another which one might suppose could have abundantly dispensed with all others. They possess the *Charisma veritatis*. They have an *ex officio* prerogative of Infallibility. One other point in the doctrine of Irenaeus is worthy of notice—the prominence he gives to Rome. Peter and Paul conspired to found this great Church. It is the pre-eminent authority in matters of doctrine and tradition, which, of course, mean the same thing to Irenaeus. "All Churches must necessarily agree with it (cannot be conceived as differing from it) on account of its quite special claims to go back to the very fountain head." (This seemed to be the meaning of the phrase, "propter potiorem principalitatem.") Therefore, if one can discover the Roman tradition, which is naturally in the hands of the Roman Bishop, why that is a short cut to the absolute truth. All the other Apostolic Churches, if one had time to question them in detail, would be found most beautifully harmonious with it in all respects. Not that Irenaeus has any notion of the infallibility of the Pope as such. All Bishops are equally with him descended from Paul and Peter, and equally invested with their authority. In every Church he thinks one would find, as it is notorious there is in Rome, an exact list of monarchical Bishops going straight back to the Apostles. Irenaeus, good, simple soul, was not distinguished for critical acumen. He might have found in the work of Clement, his predecessor in his peculiar way of thinking, if one can without gross hyperbole apply the word to their mental processes, something very like proof positive that in those days there was no vestige, either in Rome or in Corinth, of that monarchical Episcopate which he regards as a necessary law of the universe.

Irenaeus, however, has at least this note of nobleness, that he bases the Bishop's power on the fact that he is for him the organ of God's truth. Cyprian, on the other hand, achieves one further grade of descent. With him it depends on the simple fact that the Bishop has been duly appointed with all regard to legal forms. The fact is that the Novatian schism has intervened. Cornelius the regularly appointed Bishop of Rome grants absolu-

tion to the *lapsi*, those who under stress of persecution have offered sacrifice to idols. Novatian objects, founds a sect, and sets up as Counter-Bishop in Rome. He is perfectly orthodox, in every other respect believes just as Cornelius does. Therefore, mere correctness of belief is no longer sufficient for salvation. One must besides adhere to the duly appointed Bishop. The followers of Novatian, most respectable Puritans, erring only from excess of zeal if at all, are as bad as the crew of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and may confidently look forward to a fate no less terrific. Ep. 69.8.

Let us now sum up the stages through which, we have seen, the Episcopate passes. At first the Bishops are a board of financial control, connected however with the outer fringe of the most sacred act in the cultus of the Church. In the absence of their superiors, the Teachers of the Church, they gradually become the regular ministrants in this rite. Soon they become the only ministrants, and that with life tenure. It is recognised as their exclusive prerogative to officiate in this way. The theory of the Eucharist gradually becomes crass and material. Their power increases in proportion. In the struggle with heresy and through the consequent discrediting of free individual inspiration they come forward more and more as Teachers, a work which at first stood sharply contrasted with their proper functions. In the same struggle their powers come to be vested in the heads of one man—Uninominal Episcopacy is universally established, and it is now recognized in express contradiction with the words of Jesus, that the presence and sanction of Monarchical Bishops is a constitutive element in any act which implies the functions of the Christian Church. Moreover, a further extension is given to the Bishop's doctrinal authority. He is now the representative of Peter and Paul, the depository of their alone valid tradition, and to crown all he is endowed with the *Charisma Veritatis*, he is *ex officio* infallible in matters of faith. He is the one Priest and the one Teacher in his community. His mere ordination makes it a crime meriting eternal damnation to separate from him. Finally he cannot be deposed from his office by the community without recourse to a Synod of other Bishops, even in case of mortal sin.

The main occasions which led to this extraordinary concen-

tration of power and rapid metamorphosis of original Christian conceptions were the association of the Bishops with the Eucharist and the life-and-death struggle with Gnosticism. The great *cause* was the lowering of spiritual insight in the generations which followed the Apostolic life. The first exponents and adherents of a great movement are necessarily men of unusual force, fit to be free, capable of grasping pure ideas. It is only at certain rare moments of history that mankind in anything like masses rise to spiritual white heat. Faith in its highest sense, the immediate grasp of the Unseen and Eternal, that high energy which can abide on the levels of universal truth in direct communion with its source, seems possible only to a few. Most men in Protestant Churches and elsewhere crave and need to have the Truth embodied in the vehicle of some outward and visible limited symbol, some institution, or creed, which they take as exhaustive of the Infinite. It seems to be the law that periods of high creative vigour are followed by times of relapse and exhaustion. After the heights come the hollows. Luther is succeeded by the most hide-bound dogmatists, Paul by Clement of Rome. The words which demolished formulae become themselves in turn a formula. The divine audacity of faith in the naked power of truth is followed by cold practical common sense and orderly mechanism. The free living voices pass, then the faint distorted echoes are heard. The giants who could tear down age-long inveterate traditions beget a race of weak Epigoni, who patch up a new tradition by a strange mixture of miscellaneous fragments drawn from the ruins of the dead past with old iron extracted from the siege-implements which battered it to the ground.

Still it has to be remembered that the Monarchical Episcopate has served great purposes. It prevented Christianity from evaporating in fantastic speculations which would have dissipated its most central and saving truth. The hard husk of the Episcopate was the protecting envelope for the great vital thought of the union of the Divine and Human realized in Jesus Christ and attainable to all men through Him. Its marvellous solidity of organization and imposing power, culminating in the supremacy of Rome, was the necessary school for the crude youth of the Northern races with whom the world's future lay, the indispensable strong citadel and lighthouse for the culture of the Middle Ages. But surely now its day is done, at least among peoples who have passed their period of nonage.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

## SOME FURTHER SUGGESTIONS FOR THE POST-MASTER-GENERAL.

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**T**O obtain more than we immediately hope for is, in general experience, an unusual condition of affairs. And yet that is the result to us of the Imperial Postal Conference, recently held in London. In November last, Mr. Mulock had the courage to reduce the postage on letters from Canada to Great Britain to three cents per ounce, and subsequently he carried through Parliament a bill authorizing a two cent rate per ounce on letters from points in Canada to points in Canada and the United States. Now we are to have this two cent rate made uniform, whether to Great Britain, the United States, Cape Colony or Natal, and we will probably find, when the preliminary arrangements are worked out, that whilst the Australasian Colonies may not reciprocate with a penny rate on letters posted there for Great Britain, Canada or the Cape Colonies, all letters destined in these countries for Australasia will be forwarded at two cents per ounce.

All this recalls the days of Rowland Hill and his courage in introducing penny postage in Great Britain. Post Office deficits will, of course, have to be faced at first, but we can have confidence in the future. If the reduction leads to our writing only three letters to our Canadian correspondents where before we wrote two, and to our increasing our correspondence with Great Britain to an extent equal to this heavy reduction in postage, the Postmaster-General will probably feel satisfied. Will we do this? It may require a little patience, but when a sheet of linen paper and a good envelope together now cost less than one-third of a cent, and a further two cents per ounce will carry the letter to our friends in the old land, 3,000 miles away, and, even farther, to the Cape Colonies, there is some good ground for expectation that with quick steamship facilities and enlarging business with Great Britain and the other colonies, our correspondence will largely increase.

The different provinces show great diversity in the use which they make of the postal service. Presently, Ontario contributes

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100 cents per head of population to the gross postal revenue, whilst Nova Scotia contributes 70 cents, New Brunswick 67 cents, Province of Quebec 60 cents, and Prince Edward Island only 40 cents. There is much room for improvement in Ontario, for whilst Great Britain shows 45 letters posted per head of population, in Ontario there are only 31. And yet, each resident in Ontario writes on the average nearly twice as many letters as each resident in the Province of Quebec, and two and a half times as many as each resident in Prince Edward Island. These figures indicate the influence of environment and fertility of soil, as well as of the enterprise and education of the inhabitants, on the postal revenue.

It thus depends in the main on the use which the public makes of the increased facilities whether the deficiency which must inevitably result at first from these decreases in the stamp fee will not only be made up, but be in time turned into a surplus by the increased correspondence. The deficiency, however, suggests whether new or enlarging sources of revenue cannot be created in other departments of the postal service, and whether the expenses incurred in conducting that service cannot be reduced in some directions. Mr. Mulock is known to have effected very considerable savings already, and to have by this and other means largely done away with the great deficit with which former Postmasters-General seem not to have had the courage to deal. With the pruning hook already in his hands, he will, perhaps, be the more ready to receive suggestions.

Deducting the business of the city post offices, the reports show that the compensation, salaries and allowances paid to postmasters in British Columbia equal 29 per cent., and in Ontario 32 per cent. of the gross postal revenue of these provinces. Quebec expenses are similarly 34 per cent. of its gross postal revenue, whilst those of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Manitoba amount to nearly 40 per cent., and Prince Edward Island to 47 per cent. of their respective revenues from their post offices. Going further into detail, the compensation and allowances in the country offices vary from 30 to 50 per cent of the gross revenue of the offices, and those of the non-accounting offices are generally higher, reaching in Prince Edward Island 54 per cent. Now, those who are familiar with the country post

offices know that, in a vast number of cases, the postmaster is a storekeeper as well, and that the result, if not the avowed purpose, of the combining of the positions, is that the post office becomes a stepping stone to an enlarging business in the sale of goods. Probably every person in the neighbourhood who sends or receives letters is familiar with the storekeeper's shop and the class of goods which he has to sell, and many are led thus to become his customers. If no profit was derived directly from the post office branch of his business, the storekeeper would yet indirectly benefit largely in increased sale of his goods. Is it therefore necessary that the post office should compensate him to an average of towards 40 per cent. of the gross postal revenue of his office—a figure that to an ordinary agent would be unexpectedly large? I merely make the suggestion that in this matter Mr. Mulock may on investigation find, possibly, an important field in which to use his pruning hook. If only ten per cent. of the gross postal revenue were saved, bringing the average compensation to 25 per cent., the saving effected would amount to over \$260,000.

There are some departments of the postal service where increased revenue will be, probably, readily obtainable in certain cases by changes in the methods employed, and in others by the reduction of the fee or increase in the weight allowed. More particularly is this increase in revenue possible in the money order system, newspaper postage, parcel post, savings bank and insurance of registered packets.

#### MONEY ORDERS.

The competition of the Express Companies in charges and facilities, and the long, inconvenient, time-consuming form which has to be made out by the applicant for a Government money order, necessarily have had their effect upon this department of the post office. The Express Companies' system is more convenient in several ways. Their orders are made out on verbal application and at all business hours, consume less time of both applicant and clerk, and are payable anywhere wherever there is an agency of the Express Company instead of at one specially named post office as in the case of money orders. The Government might take a suggestion from the British form of application, which is very brief, or perhaps even see its way to do away with a written application altogether. The postal note,

the introduction of which has for years been advocated by myself and others familiar with the British system, has at last to Mr. Mulock's great credit been brought into use in our Canadian post office, and it is to be hoped that its simplicity and the saving of time gained to both applicant and the post office will lead to the simplification of the money order as well.

Other facilities might, however, be afforded to the applicant. Presently, the money order office is closed at 4 p.m. in the larger post offices, whilst the other branches of the department continue open until a later hour. The result is that those desiring to make remittances after that hour are forced to apply to the Express Companies or to take the risk of an uninsured letter. The extension of one hour in the time of closing would in at least the larger cities be an advantage.

The public now buys orders for smaller sums than formerly. Twenty years ago the average amount of each money order was \$26, as against \$11 now. This is partly due to the increased use of the money order system by the public at large in the remitting of small sums, but is also partly accounted for by the extension of the Express Companies' business and the lower charges made by them on orders for sums over \$20. This was last year in part remedied by the Department reducing the commission charged, but even now for sums above \$40, the commissions demanded by the Government are in excess of those of its competitors. What would seem to be wanted is such a reduction as will induce those of the public who do not keep bank accounts to use the money order system more extensively for the transmission of the larger sums up to \$100. The effect of this would be to also raise the average of the commission received, which presently is only 9 cents on each order. That this is low will be understood when it is remembered that the minimum charge made by the banks on cashing cheques or on drawing drafts on other towns is 15 cents, however small the amount of the cheque or draft.

#### PARCEL POST.

Can the parcel post be called the unqualified success which we should like to see? There is an immense field for this department of the post office work, and yet in all this vast territory of ours the public only sends 1084 parcels daily through the post

office. Only one post office in nine on an average sends even one parcel daily. The speedy transmission of small parcels from one city or town to another is a great public convenience, and yet why will not the public take advantage of the opportunities the post office affords them? I have for years pointed out that the charges made are excessive. With a rate of 6 cents for each 4 oz., a 3 lb. parcel sent from, for instance, Toronto to Belleville or Kingston costs 72 cents, a rate which in most instances adds so much to the cost of the article sent as to be simply prohibitory. The postal fee is, in fact, made so large as to drive the business into the hands of the Express Companies, whose much lower charges are themselves still so excessive as to be largely prohibitory of that immense class of business, which stands ready waiting to be developed, between friends in distant parts of the country, and between the shopkeepers in the cities and towns and their country customers.

Those who have studied the British parcel post and the British railway parcel service know well the enormous expansion which has been given to this business there by reasonable rates. The railways regulate the charge by the distance and the weight. A 1 lb. parcel will be taken 100 miles for 10 cents; a 3 lb. parcel the same distance for 14 cents; and an 11 lb. parcel for 24 cents. On the other hand, the British post office has uniform rates irrespective of distance, and will take a 1 lb. parcel to the most remote point in the kingdom for 6 cents; a 3 lb. parcel for 12 cents; and an 11 lb. parcel for 36 cents. And what is the result of these rates? One firm alone—John Noble, Limited, of Manchester—sends about 1,000 parcels daily by post and rail, or as many as our whole Dominion does in the same time.

What an expansion of business the large retail houses of the Canadian cities would experience if the postal rates were adapted to what is known as "shopping by mail?" The experience of families in every town and village is that there are often articles of a kind or a quality which they cannot obtain in their local shops, and that it would be most convenient if they could procure them at reasonable cost from the large centres. In Great Britain the method is to ask for samples, and from these the selection is made. Here, in Canada, the postal rates on samples is reasonable, but when the samples arrive and the

choice is made, the parcel post rate is found to be simply prohibitory of business by so largely increasing the cost of the goods. Will not the Postmaster-General investigate this matter and give us graduated rates, commencing with 6 cents per lb. instead of the present uniform rate of 6 cents per 4 oz.? An even lower rate might be in time be possible. Will he not also arrange to deliver the parcels at the addressees' houses in all cities where there is a postal delivery, and, eventually, in all the large towns? An enormous expansion of this branch of the postal service would follow—an expansion that would greatly aid the postal note and money order departments, for, the business being cash, every order given for execution by parcel post means an accompanying remittance, which would suggest a further use in this direction of the post office facilities.

It is very difficult to understand our Canadian parcel post when it is recalled that the 3 lb. parcel which sent from, for instance, Toronto to Belleville, would cost 72 cents in postage, would be taken by the same postal authorities from Toronto to England for 40 cents. An even heavier parcel will be carried to England than from points in Canada to points in Canada. And now the Postmaster-General of Great Britain proposes that it should cost only 48 cents for colonial parcels up to 7 lbs. in weight, and for that rate that they should be taken to the Cape and Australia as well as to the United Kingdom.

#### NEWSPAPER POSTAGE.

The vast number of newspapers carried free by mail has always been a weak spot in the financial results of the Canadian post office. The new rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent per lb., about to be imposed, will only realize about \$82,500, and is too small to be of much service. The chief question which has to be considered is—who is to pay the newspaper postage? the proprietor or the public? The new rate being small, the proprietor will be unable to add it to the price of the paper, and postage must to that extent be an added expense to his establishment. Increase the rate to 2 cents per lb—a very favourable rate—and, whilst it will give a substantial addition to the post office revenue, it will at once bring in the public as a possible factor to be dealt with. That the public is willing to pay its share of the cost of delivery of the newspaper, and that the newspaper should not be free, is the opinion

of business men generally. That this share should be the whole postage would not be fair, as, since the newspapers have been delivered free, the cost of paper has been enormously diminished by the use of spruce pulp, and the mechanical processes for printing and issuing the newspaper cheaply and quickly have been greatly improved. With paper at 2 cents per lb., copies of the great Montreal and Toronto morning and evening dailies do not cost for paper alone more than one-third of a cent each. It will be of course alleged that other expenses necessary in conducting a newspaper, notably in the telegraphic news and the reporters' department, have increased, but against this, the circulation has greatly increased, and so have the returns from advertisements in the case of most papers in the great cities. Again, the paper which will have to bear the postage is issued direct from the publishing office, as a rule at full price, and does not pass through the hands of news agents and news boys at a one-third reduction. Receiving the full price, the publisher can better afford to pay the increased postage. There is thus much to be said on the side of the public, as well as the publishers, as to the share each should bear of the cost of carriage by post, but there is absolutely no valid argument why the Dominion Government should carry annually over 8,000 tons of newspapers to distant points without charge, and thus incur a great deficit in a department of the Government which should be self-supporting. The Postmaster-General will be sustained by the business community and the good sense of the people at large, if he increases the postage rate on newspapers to a point that will afford a profit, or will, at any rate, equal the cost of handling them.

Another anomaly ! Why should a newspaper posted by a publishing house be free when the same newspaper posted by one of the public at large would require a stamp ? Is not the mission performed by the newspaper in each case the same ? Why should a barrier—as some would regard postage—be placed on this use of the post by the public ? And yet the public has hitherto willingly paid this charge as being, on general principles, fair. The suggestion that can be here made is that, as few daily or weekly newspapers weigh less than an ounce, the limit of weight under which the  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent postage is charged should be

increased from one to three ounces. The great Montreal and Toronto dailies average in weight about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ounces, and facilities should be given to the public for sending them at the  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent rate.

#### SAVINGS BANKS.

One object of the Savings Bank is understood to be to encourage thrift among the working classes, and its depositors also include large numbers of young people. Under the present rules, no deposit under one dollar is permitted, nor are any fractions of one dollar accepted. Now, one dollar is a considerable sum to most wage earners, and it takes time for their accumulated savings, as well as those of the children, to reach that amount. Who, besides, does not realize the temptations which are in the way of both to spend before the savings reach the prescribed minimum? My suggestion is that the question should be carefully considered whether the minimum should not be made twenty-five cents, and whether any number of twenty-five cents should not be accepted up to a given amount. It will probably to some extent increase the clerical work in the department at Ottawa, but it will swell the Savings Bank returns, and encourage thrift, and it has for precedent the British post office, which accepts deposits of one shilling or any number of shillings. Twenty-five cents being one quarter of a dollar, adding up columns and all calculations become simple and are done with great rapidity.

Another suggestion is that some special advantages and facilities in connection with deposits should be afforded to those savings institutions and working men's associations throughout the country which receive the small savings of the working classes and of the young people. No limit in amount should be placed on their deposits, and they and all small depositors should be allowed to buy 3 per cent. Dominion stock at par direct from the Government.

The sale of annuities and Government life insurance form other sources of revenue open to the Savings Bank Department. The large commissions paid by the ordinary life companies to their agents, and the fact of the Government having already its equipment in buildings and staff, and being free from taxes and expensive management, would of themselves enable the Government to realize considerable profit, whilst the fact of the security

being Government would form a great attraction to the public and would do away with the necessity of accumulating great reserves for the protection of the insured. The matter is well worth considering.

#### INSURANCE OF REGISTERED LETTERS.

For several years I have, but thus far unsuccessfully, tried to induce the Government to undertake the insurance of registered letters up to a maximum amount of \$250 on each letter or package. The Post Office statistics have shown that, in the extensive business of the registration department, the revenue is large and the actual loss small, and that insurance would largely increase the number of registered letters. All this has hitherto had no effect in the face of an apparently general policy that the Government should not incur the risk of loss among letters. However, the present Postmaster-General has been giving the matter more attention than his predecessor would, and it is to be hoped that some scheme may be evolved which will satisfy the desire of the public for safety in the transmission of money and valuable property. Presently, the Government exacts annually about \$175,000 in registration fees, but in return assumes no liability whatever, although it does agree to obtain a receipt for each letter if it arrives at its destination safely, and is assumed to make an investigation if it does not.

I can only repeat what I have frequently said, that a system of insurance of registered letters would not only be a great convenience and ensure to the public a means of safe transmission, but be a source of considerable profit to the Government without much attendant risk. It is encouraging to find that the British Government has very recently once more increased its minimum limit, up to which it will insure—this time to £125 stg.

A. T. DRUMMOND.

## BINOCULAR VISION.

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POLYPHEMUS was blinded by the burning stake of Ulysses and his friends, because the Cyclops had but one eye. If he had had two eyes there is no doubt but that Ulysses would have formed a savory dish for the breakfast of Polyphemus, and the beautiful story of Homer would have closed at this point.

It was unfortunate, then, for the Cyclops that he had but one eye, and it might be concluded that the purpose of two eyes, or at least one of the purposes, is that if a person happens to lose one eye, he is not thereby blinded. Such a conclusion is, however, of doubtful legitimacy. Polyphemus was a creature of the imagination, and no one-eyed beings are now or ever have been known except some low forms of molluscs or crustaceans, and the real function of their single eye is somewhat of a doubtful quantity. Many animals amongst the lower classes, such as spiders, &c., have a multiplicity of eyes, but amongst the higher classes, and especially the vertebrate animals, every individual is supplied with two eyes, complete or rudimentary, and with two only.

Why the eyes exist in single pairs only is probably not explainable, as it appears to be impossible to get at the ultimate reason of things. But it is for the same cause that the higher animals have two ears and two nostrils, and consist in fact each, as far as external form is concerned, of a right and a left symmetrical semi-animal united along a median plane. The very existence of the right and left symmetry is the reason for the doubling of the external sense organs, and its cause must be sought for in some occult influence in the primary processes of evolution.

But if we cannot give a reasonable explanation as to why an animal has *two* eyes, we can at least understand some of the purposes which the presence of two eyes serves in the mechanism of vision, and especially in human vision, for, after all, the human animal is the only one upon which anything like satisfactory experiments can be carried out in the elucidation of this subject.

In man the fields of vision of the two eyes are nearly altogether in common. That is, the same scene with pretty much

the same limitations is depicted upon each retina, the principal difference being in the relative positions of the parts with respect to the retinae ; and this co-extension of these pictures is specially important in the explanation of binocular vision, which follows.

In birds and many other animals seemingly endowed with acute and accurate vision, the fields of the two eyes are nearly or altogether exclusive. Our explanation of the nature of binocular vision does not apply to such animals. What the real character of their vision is can, to us, be only conjectural, inasmuch as we cannot bring ourselves under the conditions governing the vision of such animals, nor can we successfully experiment upon them with respect to such a purely subjective faculty as that of seeing. .

We may premise, to begin with, that one of the purposes, and the principal purpose served by the co-ordination of two eyes in the act of vision, is to see *distance*, and through this to distinguish between figures which occupy three-dimensional space and those which lie upon a plane approximately normal to the axis of vision. Before taking up this part of the subject, however, let us consider the essential construction of a single eye, and the nature of monocular vision.

Choose a room with a single window looking out upon some extensive landscape, or street scene if possible. Close the window with a dark shutter, so as to exclude as much light as is practicable, and all if possible. Make a hole about an inch in diameter in the shutter and fit into it a common spectacle lens of as long focus as can be conveniently obtained. The light from the scene without will come through the lens, and if a white screen, such as a large sheet of paper, be placed at the correct distance from the lens, a beautiful moving and living picture of the out-door scene will be temporarily painted upon the screen. The leaves will be seen to tremble in the breeze ; men and women walk the streets : children go through the various motions of their plays ; clouds move in front of the blue sky ; and in short all the motions to be seen in nature are seen to be faithfully carried out upon the picture, which is colored with a truthfulness which transcends the ability of the greatest master ; but the picture is necessarily inverted.

Now this dark room with its contrivances represents a

human eye. The retina is the screen, the iris is the shutter, the pupil is the opening in the shutter, and the lens and transparent humors which fill up the body of the eye represent, in their functions at least, the spectacle glass. And just as every object in front of the darkened window is faithfully pictured upon the white paper screen in the room, so every object in front of the eye is accurately painted upon the retina, which lies at the back of the eye. Of the intimate structure of the retina, which consists of an exceedingly complex arrangement of nerve fibres and nerve material in connection with the optic nerve, we have nothing here to do, as we are dealing merely with the mechanical part of vision. But it will be proper to say that whatever be its source, whenever a picture in light and shade, and it may be in color, is impressed upon the retina, then, by some means unexplainable by us, the judgment interprets the result as a real object placed in front of the eye and which is capable of producing the picture which excites the retina. Thus when we stand in front of a plane mirror and place a lighted candle somewhere behind us, the light from the candle, after being reflected at the mirror, enters the eye and pictures the candle flame upon the retina; and we *see* the candle not behind us, but in front of us, as a real object.

Such, then, are the simplest elements of the mechanics of vision.

But the objects in front of the eye are pictured upon the same retina, just as in our experiment they are upon the same smooth screen, and yet we *see* them at different distances, some being very near and others far away with hosts of intermediate ones occupying all positions between these extremes. How, then, does this come about, or, in other words, how do we *see* distance?

The *seeing of distance* is a judgment, formed upon several synchronous experiences, some of them depending upon consciousness of muscular action in the eye itself, and others upon variations in the character of the light which comes from the object, and upon relative position of parts. These may be accordingly classified into (*a*) subjective means, and (*b*) objective means of seeing distance.

(*a*) The subjective means of seeing distance are: (1) The

focussing of the eye, and this alone can be considered in dealing with a single eye, and is hence the only subjective means possessed by a person with a single eye; and (2) The correlation of the two eyes, by which we direct the two visual axes, or lines of sight, to the same point; and this means, which is specially potent, is characteristic of the use of two eyes.

(1) In our experiment previously described we will notice that a particular object in the landscape becomes sharp and distinct in the picture only when the screen is placed at a particular distance from the lens; and that this distance is greater for objects near the window than it is for objects more remote. So that no position of the screen will render all objects sharp in outline at the same time, and it is only by moving the screen back and forth that we can successively bring the pictures of outside objects into conditions of sharp definition.

A similar state of affairs exists within the eye. For distinct vision of an object its picture must be sharply delineated upon the retina, and for this purpose the eye must be adjusted or focussed by muscular effort; and the amount of this effort, although we may be almost unconscious of it, enters into our judgment of the distance of the object.

The amount of motion, however, necessary for the focussing of the eye is in all practicable cases very small, and the major part of it comes into play when focussing for objects not far removed from the eye. Thus the difference in focus for an object at a distance of six feet and for one indefinitely distant is scarcely appreciable; so that this element in the seeing of distance, although more important to a person with one eye than to a person with two, is of very little importance in any case, except with respect to objects quite near the eye.

(2.) Every person is aware that when he fixes his attention upon some one object in a general landscape the part of the object to which the view is directed comes out sharp and clear, and that although he has a general cognizance of all the rest of his field of vision, its parts become more and more confused and generally more undistinguishable as they are more and more removed from the point under consideration. And that if he wishes to view the landscape in detail it becomes necessary to run his eye over the whole of it, or, in other words, to take a

great number of consecutive points in it as momentary points of vision. From the optical principle of vision it can be readily shown that this property of the eye is exceedingly important, but this is apart from our present purpose.

In the retina of the eye there is a very small spot called the *macula lutea* or yellow spot, which appears as a slight depression in the retinal surface. This spot is the most sensitive point in the retina, and only that part of the picture which falls on the spot gives rise to clear and distinct vision.

When we look at any point in an object we bring the eye, by proper muscular work, into such a position that the picture of that point falls upon the yellow spot; and if we are looking with both eyes, then both must assume a similar position, and the same point is pictured upon the yellow spots of both eyes. Under this condition the eyes are properly co-ordinated, and for some reason, beyond our power of explanation, the two pictures give rise to an impression of only one external object.

This co-ordination takes place so rapidly and so readily, as we shift our point of vision from place to place, that we are apt to think that it must be involuntary, or that the two pictures can under all circumstances, act only in unison with one another, or as a single picture.

That the pictures act, in general, independently of one another, is readily shown. For if, when looking at an object, a slight pressure be made upon one of the eyeballs so as to destroy the perfection of the co-ordination, two objects become visible, or in other words the object becomes doubled; showing clearly that each picture acts for itself, and that the retinal affects are independently interpreted.

And that the co-ordination is not spontaneous, but the result of independent muscular action, is shown from the fact that the loss of the power of co-ordination sometimes appears as a troublesome disease under the name of *diplopia* or double vision, and that it is commonly induced temporarily in those who tarry long at the wine-cup.

The straight line drawn from the yellow spot of the retina to that point of the object upon which the vision is directed is the axis of vision; and for clear binocular vision of any point the two axes of vision must meet or cross at that point, and con-

versely, the position of any point clearly seen by the two eyes will appear to be at the point of intersection of the axes of vision. For very distant objects the axes of vision are practically parallel, and this appears to be the exterior limit of their relative positions. The interior limit can be determined by approaching the finger or other object, at which we are looking, towards the nose. When very near the nose the muscular effort necessary to direct the eyes inwards becomes very evident, and even painful. This muscular effort necessary to co-ordinate the two eyes is the principal subjective element in our judgment of distance.

The following experiments will illustrate the subject. 1. Suspend a small weight by a thread, and, shutting one eye, try to bring the point of your pen or pencil laterally to touch the thread. Try the same with both eyes. The thread must not be held by one hand, as this would bring the muscles of the arms into play. 2. Placing your head about at the level of the desk upon which your ink-stand is sitting, try to dip your pen into the ink, using one eye only, and then using both eyes. 3. Try to thread a needle, using one eye only. The results will certainly indicate to any one trying these experiments the function of the two eyes in seeing distance.

The following experiment, though not always successful at the first trial, is exceedingly interesting,

Choose a papered wall with a small pattern in which the pattern repeats itself in horizontal lines. For the purpose of explanation denote a number of consecutive repetitions of the pattern, counting from left to right, by A, B, C, D, &c. Standing eight or ten feet in front of the wall, direct both eyes to A, say, and the wall is seen in its proper position. Now direct the left eye to A, and the right eye to B, and let the eyes be co-ordinated in this position—a thing that can always be done, although beginners may find difficulty at first. Immediately the wall comes forward to the new position at which the visual axes cross. Next, while the right eye is still directed to A, direct the left to C, and the wall takes another bound forwards again to the new position at which the visual axes cross, &c.

If the distance from A to B is less than that between the eyes, then by directing the left eye to A and the right to B the wall may be made to recede into the distance. And thus the

wall may be made to approach or recede at the pleasure of the experimenter, not gradually but by successive bounds or steps. The illusion is complete and the hand or a pointer may readily be made to appear to pass through the wall from front to rear and back again without any resistance being given.

The experiment may be beautifully carried out with a pane of figured sand-cut glass, such as is usually sold in the shops, but however prosecuted it shows clearly that wherever an object may be, it is seen to be at that distance at which the visual axes cross when the eyes are so co-ordinated as to see the object distinctly ; and it is owing to the repetition of the pattern in the experiment quoted that we are able to see the pattern distinctly while co-ordinating the eyes in more than one position. In these cases, as probably in all cases of ocular illusion, the judgment is not at fault, but some abnormality or irregularity in the ocular impressions has produced the erroneous result.

Again, an elementary knowledge of geometry teaches that the amount of change in the co-ordination of the eyes to bring them from one object to another at a different distance is much greater for near objects than for two distant objects separated by the same interval. Thus the change from an object one foot distant to one ten feet distant is comparatively great, while for objects at the distance, say of 100 feet and 110 feet, the change is scarcely sensible. And it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for any person, by this means alone, to distinguish a distance of say 500 feet from one of 550 or even 600 feet. So that this element in our judgment of distance, like the previous one, is most valuable in the case of near objects, and practically of no value for very distant ones.

The explanation as to how we form our judgment of great distances brings us to consider the objective elements. These are : 1. Geometrical perspective ; 2. Aerial perspective ; and 3. Parallax arising from the use of two eyes.

1. When we look out upon a landscape we notice that trees, and men, and cattle, and all other things of nearly a fixed size, appear to grow smaller, or to subtend a smaller angle as they recede into the distance, and we readily make out that approximately the angle subtended varies inversely as the distance. And this diminution in apparent size is at once an indication of

the distance of the body, if it be something with which we are familiar. Also, the whole ground of the landscape is spread out before us, and upon it innumerable objects are marshalled in regular order, rising higher and higher in our field of vision as they are farther removed into the background. And thus the relative position of an object in the field of vision is also to some extent an indication of its relative distance. These two things form what is called geometrical perspective, and a picture false in geometrical perspective can never appear natural.

2. The atmosphere when seen through long stretches near the earth's surface, is distinctly visible as a blueish-gray mist which masks the colors of objects and hides their details; and provided the object be on or near the earth's surface, the farther away it is the more atmosphere intervenes, and the duller and more indistinct the object becomes. This is aerial perspective; and we have learned by experience to connect the idea of distance with this phenomenon of mistiness and concealed details.

It is very largely by these two elements that we all judge of the relative distances of objects seen in the landscape, and these are the only ones vouchsafed to a one-eyed person.

Many peculiarities in the estimation of distance are now readily explained.

a. The sun or moon appears larger when rising or setting than when high in the heavens, when the fact is that they subtend slightly larger angles in the latter case than in the former. The reason for this is that when on the horizon we have trees, buildings, &c., with which to compare them, while in the higher skies we have not. Also, owing to the intervening objects, these heavenly bodies appear to be more distant when on the horizon than when in the upper sky where there are no intervening objects, and as they subtend practically the same angle in both cases, they must necessarily appear larger at the horizon than when near the zenith.

b. Objects appear nearer when seen across a large sheet of water than when seen across an equal stretch of country. For, in the former case there are no distinct intervening objects, while in the latter case there are.

c. The rising sun appears larger when seen through a misty or foggy atmosphere than when the atmosphere is clear, because the

aerial perspective being exaggerated, makes the sun appear more distant ; and the like is true for other objects as well as for the sun.

*d.* A person who has obtained his visual experiences in a country with a heavy misty atmosphere, for obvious reasons invariably underrates distances in a country where the atmosphere is bright and clear.

*e.* To persons who have not been accustomed to see mountains, a mountain top always appears to be less distant than it really is ; because the mountain bulks so large in his field of vision, and he has been used to attributing such a phenomenon to nearness of the object.

3. Hold up a pencil in line with a distant tree and look at the tree with one eye closed, and you will see one tree and one pencil. Now look at the tree with both eyes and you will see one tree but two pencils. Similarly, if you look at the pencil you will see one pencil and two trees. This effect is known as parallax, and it is due to the fact already stated that we cannot co-ordinate the two eyes for more than one point at a time, and that accordingly the two eyes do not and cannot, in viewing a landscape, see the same picture.

As has been already pointed out, when we fix our view on any point in a landscape we see only that point clearly, while all other points are more illy defined as they recede farther from the central one, and we now see that all points except that to which our view is directed are more or less doubled.

We may examine a scene in detail by running our eyes over it as has been already said, but it is the single view with its general envisagement of varying distinctness and doubled objects from which we obtain our impressions of distance, and relative position and general extension in tridimensional space. And, of course, along with this view go both geometrical and aerial perspective as potent aids.

Hence to see space the pictures formed upon the retinae of the two eyes must be similar, but not identical, and their differences must be not arbitrary, but such as to satisfy all the principles of geometrical perspective with two distinct central points, and, moreover, the pictures must be so placed that consecutive corresponding points may be brought to the yellow retinal spots in orderly succession.

If these conditions can be carried out we will see space independently of what may have been the origin of the retinal pictures. No process of manual drawing can produce two such pictures with anything like detail, but it is possible to produce such in outline.

For complex pictures we must have recourse to the art of photography, and the only objects or scenes that can be thus obtained are or have been in actual existence.

The painter makes use of light, shade, color and geometrical and aerial perspective, but he cannot introduce the effects of parallax ; and hence the best of paintings must fall very far below the reality in depicting a scene like a landscape, in which distance plays so important a part. A painted landscape represents the scene somewhat as it appears to the single eye. But the most beautiful landscape when thus seen is flat and tame as compared with its binocular presentment. In fact the better way to enjoy a good painting is to view it with a single eye, for then, while parallax does not add to its relief, neither does the want of parallax take away from it. And for obvious reasons, already dealt with, a large painting seen from a good distance is much more realistic than a small one seen from near by.

The camera is the only means of furnishing two pictures, of a complex scene, complete in all details and capable of satisfying the conditions for binocular vision, and the stereograph is the article furnished. A stereograph is taken in a double camera supplied with two lenses about three inches apart, and in which each lens produces its own picture of the scene presented. We have thus, on the developed plate, two pictures which, with the exception of color, are exact counterparts of the two pictures which the same scene would impress upon the two retinae. And when the eyes are so co-ordinated that the right eye sees the right picture and the left eye the left picture, we see the scene in all its fullness of detail and with all its extension in space. The view thus presented cannot properly be called an illusion, as it is the result of completely satisfying the conditions of vision, and we may look upon the stereograph as the scene crystallized, so to speak, into a portable form.

The distance between the pictures will in general be the same as that between the lenses, and as it is not practicable to

have the pictures overlap each other, they are necessarily limited in their lateral dimensions. So that the angular extent of the scene depicted cannot be very great unless the focal lengths of the lenses be very short or the lenses be moved far apart. But a less focal length than six or eight inches is objectionable, while the separation of the lenses introduces certain peculiarities into the view, which we will deal with hereafter. The general usage is to separate the lenses by an interval a little greater than that between a person's two eyes, and thus to obtain as great a lateral extent of scene as can be conveniently done without introducing manifest peculiarities. But as we have no power to so adjust the eyes that the visual axes may be divergent, a necessary condition in uniting such pictures, we require the aid of the instrument known as the stereoscope. This consists of two half lenses reversed in position and so arranged that each eye sees its proper picture through one of the half lenses, the functions of the instrument being to magnify the pictures and to so bend the axes of vision as to enable the observer comfortably to unite the pictures.

Like other instruments, a stereoscope may be good or it may be bad, and any stereoscope in which a person, with some experience in using one, cannot readily and comfortably unite the pictures is bad. Of course some people have so little control over the adjusting muscles of the eye that they find it difficult to unite the pictures even in a good stereoscope.

The following experiments, which can be readily carried out by any person who has proper control over the muscular system of his eyes, are both interesting and instructive.

Call the left-hand picture of the stereograph L, and the right-hand one R. Choose a stereograph of a particular object, such as a person's head and face, and holding it about two feet distant and in proper position, co-ordinate the eyes so that the right eye sees L and the left eye sees R. The head immediately becomes reversed, that is, the nearer parts recede and the distant parts advance, so that the impression is that one is looking into a hollow mask. If the experiment is tried on a landscape stereograph the effects are similar, but not so pronounced, for the existence of geometrical and aerial perspectives which are not reversed tend to produce confusion. In this experiment the visual

axes cross between the eyes and the stereograph. Cut along the line of junction of the two pictures so as to divide the stereograph into separate parts, and exchange R and L. Upon carrying out the experiment now, each eye sees its proper picture and the view appears in all its perfection of relief, without the use of the stereoscope. But on account of the visual axes meeting so near the eyes the whole scene appears quite near, and therefore of a diminished size, as if seen through a minifying glass. Again, place the two pictures in their original relation, but overlapping until the distance between corresponding points is less than that between the eyes. The figures may now be united by causing the visual axes to meet at some distant point. In this case the proper scene appears again, without the use of the stereoscope, somewhat distant and somewhat magnified. These phenomena offer no difficulties of explanation after what has been said.

Some one has said that man is the measure of the Universe. However this may be, it is certain that the distance between a man's eyes is the measure of the objects which he visually contemplates. As regards size, a man naturally compares all objects with himself. To him a tree or a house is a large object, while a blade of grass or a way-side flower is a small one.

But if the man's eyes were a hundred times as far apart, that is, if the man were a hundred times larger or linearly, the tree and the house would be small objects, and the only large ones of his landscape would be the lofty hills and the mountains. Now, it is not possible for a man to increase the distance between his eyes actually, but it is possible, by means of the stereograph, to do so virtually and effectively. For the distance between the eyes is virtually the distance between the lenses of the camera when forming the stereograph. The stereograph of a landscape taken with the lenses 6 feet apart gives the view as the actual scene would appear to a giant whose eyes were 6 feet asunder. And a stereograph of the City of Paris taken with the lenses about 20 feet apart presents to view a city complete in every detail, but diminutive in size, not as if seen through a minifying glass, but as if constructed of toy blocks, and in which it would appear to be an easy feat to pick up a whole building in the hand and plant it down in some other place.

These results are peculiar and interesting, but let no one think that this is the whole of it.

Some years ago it became a question not easy to settle as to whether the corona which appears around the sun in total, solar eclipses belongs to the sun or to the moon or to the atmosphere of our earth. At a favorable total eclipse of the sun, two photographs were taken at the same instant and at places some hundreds of miles apart. When these were brought together and viewed through the stereoscope the question was settled at once. For the moon was seen quite in the foreground, as it should be, while the sun with his corona receded into the far distance.

Again, the moon is too far away to have its appearance affected in the least by the parallax due to the two eyes. Fortunately, however, the moon, on account of the eccentricity of her orbit, allows us to see a little way around one side of her average presentation at one time, and 14 days after to see a little way around the other side. If two photographs of the moon were taken at these two times, with the moon in the same phase at each, the effect would be the same as if our eyes were separated by some thousands of miles.

The writer has such a stereograph by Rutherford and Bierstadt, and a view of it is something like a revelation. There is no question concerning the moon's rotundity, for she is there with all her markings, her valleys and mountains and extinguished craters, a goodly sized ball which one feels strongly tempted to put out his hand and handle. It is generally believed, on account of the moon's always presenting the same side to the earth, that her form is more or less egg shaped with the longer axis directed towards the earth. In the writer's stereograph this form is quite evident; so the stereoscope may lend its aid in many ways to corroborate our scientific deductions.

In illustrating the geometry of space the stereoscope is in some respects superior to models, and it is always of the highest value. Some months ago Professor Greenhill, of Woolwich, England, presented to the writer six stereographs representing as many different cases of algebraic gyrostat curves. One of these pictures appears very much like a scene of confusion, in which curved lines cross and recross without any definite system, and requiring a very vivid imagination to put them in their proper

relations in tridimensional space. Place the card in the stereoscope and the scene of confusion flashes into a thing of beauty, in which graceful curves loop and twine with geometrical regularity, while lying upon and marking out the surface of an otherwise invisible sphere.

The stereoscope is altogether a remarkable instrument in both the manner of its operation and the work which it does. Its lines of usefulness are quite different from those of the telescope or the microscope, but, in many ways, it can be made the hand-maid of science, and do valuable educational work. Even in its more common field of application it is a useful educator.

For it brings to our homes and our firesides the objects and scenes of beauty or wonder to be found in earth or air or sea throughout this wide world, and presents them to our view, not as the panorama or the lantern does, but with all the fullness of stereographic relief, thus giving us one of the chief pleasures of the travelling sight seer without one tithe of the expense and discomfort incident to travel.

N. F. DUPUIS.

### ART, MORALITY AND RELIGION.

*(Continued from the April number.)*

A RISTOTLE, in his theory of art, goes far to transcend the limits of his philosophy. If, as he holds, poetry represents the human and divine in concrete form, it must be because here an aspect of both is presented which is essential to the boundless wealth of existence. There is considerable difficulty, however, in adjusting his conception of art as an end in itself with his demand that it should be in harmony with the moral ideal. As Mr. Butcher points out, he regards the charge that a poem is morally hurtful ( $\betaληθερία$ ) as a very grave one.\* He tells us that the actions or opinions of any character in a poem must be viewed in connexion with the whole circumstances; "whether, for instance, it be for the sake of attaining some greater good, or

\* *Poetics*, x.cv. 20.

averting some greater evil."\* This seems to indicate a large and liberal view of morality. Apparently, we are not to condemn as immoral whatever is contrary to customary morality. What in the case of a ruler, who has to consider the interests of the whole people may be justifiable, may be inadmissible in the case of a private citizen. And this, perhaps, suggests one way in which Aristotle's apparently discrepant views (1) that art is independent of morality, (2) that it must be in harmony with morality, may be, partly at least, reconciled. Morality is not a number of cast-iron rules, fixed by custom, and art may violate these; but, it must not violate the higher moral law which consists in the realisation of the ideal. *Antigone*, e.g., violates the law of the state, and from the conventional point of view acts wrongly; but she is in harmony with the unwritten law of heaven. Sophocles therefore secures the sympathy of the audience in her fate, or the representation is poetically good, though it is contrary to the ordinary law binding upon the good citizen. This would seem to come under Aristotle's formula of speech or action which is for the sake of attaining a greater good. If this interpretation is correct, the opposition of art and morality is partly done away. A character may, from the ideal point of view, which is beyond all convention, be profoundly moral, and may yet be in open contradiction to conventional morality. This may also explain why Aristotle distinguishes so decidedly between poetry and politics. Politics is the art of government, and must enforce the laws of the state irrespective of the motives of the individual. Yet there is a higher law which transcends the state, and this law it is the poet's function to exhibit.

There is another case of a different kind. The instance given above is of a character profoundly moral, though contrary to existing social law. But a poem may represent characters which are immoral even from this higher point of view. How far is this legitimate? Aristotle answers that 'depravity of character' is 'justly censured when there is no inner necessity' for representing it; and he gives as an instance the superfluous wickedness of Menelaus in the *Orestes* of Euripides. The 'superfluous wickedness' in this case is due to the new representation of Menelaus introduced by Euripides, which was contrary to the conception of

\**Ibid.*, xxv. 8.

the character fixed in the mind of the spectator by Homer and his successors. Aristotle's censure seems to mean that Euripides went out of his way to disturb the traditional conception without 'necessity,' *i.e.*, without sufficient justification by the 'necessity' of the plot. This could not but have a disturbing effect upon the mind of the spectator, and therefore tended to destroy the unity of the whole. It seems to me that Aristotle's censure amounts to a charge against Euripides of portraying Menelaus as depraved in character for a 'sensational' effect, as we should say. The poet must therefore, in Aristotle's view, be permeated by a high conception of human life. Wantonly to introduce evil characters shows that he has a low conception of his art. If human destiny is not represented from a lofty point of view, it cannot but produce in the spectator a false and mean conception of humanity, and this is inconsistent with that rational enjoyment which it is the purpose of art to secure. Aristotle, then, holds that the tragic poet at least must introduce vicious characters only so far as they are necessary in the representation of the collision between spiritual forces. The mere portrayal of wickedness cannot be a proper object of poetry, but is justifiable only as a means to the exhibition of the rational meaning of life. It is, therefore, in accordance with the spirit of Aristotle to say that the poet must have a belief in the principle of goodness as the law of life ; and that a sceptical disbelief in rational law will prevent him from being a perfect artist. If a poem in its total effect does not produce in the spectator the feeling of harmony with himself, it is bad artistically, because in the wide sense it is bad morally. It is no excuse that it is "realistic," in the sense of portraying men as they *are* : for in Aristotle's view the object should be to portray life as it *truly is* ; which is a higher form of reality than that of the prosaic understanding or common experience.

The general point of view here indicated receives illustration from what Aristotle says of the objects of the imitative arts. The 'persons acting' who are the objects of imitation, as he tells us, may be either of a higher or lower type (*σπουδαίους* ἢ *φαύλους*) ; or, as he immediately explains, they must be either 'better than in real life' (*βελτίους* ἢ *καθ' ἴμως*) or worse (*ἢ χειρονας*) or as they are (*όμοιους*) ; and he adds that 'moral character' (*τὰ ἡθη*) mainly answers to these divisions, goodness (*ἀρετή*) and badness (*κακία*) being

the distinguishing marks of moral differences.\* According to this view, there are two types of moral excellence, which deviate from men as they actually are, viz., (1) that which is higher morally, (2) that which is lower morally ; and Tragedy represents men as better, Comedy as worse, than in actual life.† Epic poetry agrees with Tragedy in so far as it is an imitation of characters of a higher type (*μίμησις σπουδαιών*).|| The character (*τὰ Ἰθῆ*) must be morally good (*χρηστά*). This is the primary demand of Tragedy. The 'character' is good, if the moral purpose is good. But we must note that there are different types of moral purpose. The goodness of a woman or a slave is not the same as the goodness of a man.\* Aristotle, then, regards Epic poetry and Tragedy as dealing with types of character which are morally higher than those of actual life. There are various such types, depending upon certain fundamental natural differences—such as those between man and woman, free man and slave,—but they must in all cases be morally higher than those of actual life. This means, as he explains, that the moral purpose (*προαιρεσίς*) must be higher. Now, as moral purpose is for Aristotle, 'correspondence with objective law,' not merely good intention, this is the same as saying that the characters represented must be more closely conformable with the ideal tendencies of human nature than those of actual life. If we bear this in mind, it becomes obvious that Aristotle is insisting that tragedy must represent moral types of character such as exhibit what are the fundamental laws of man as a being who can realise himself only by following these laws. We have further to bear in mind that he does not deny that immoral characters may be portrayed, but only demands that these should be necessary to the main purpose of the drama, viz., that rational enjoyment which is the end of art, and which can be fully secured only by the exhibition of the rational laws of human life. I cannot, therefore, see that Mr. Butcher is justified in regarding Aristotle as under the influence of the older view of art as didactic. No doubt he regards it as didactic in the wide sense that it produces a feeling of self-harmony, by exhibiting the play of character as manifesting the inevitable result of the violation of the deepest laws of morality as disastrous ; but, unless we are to empty art of all ideal significance, we must accept this view of its purport.

\**Ibid ii., 1.*†*Ibid v. 4.*||*Ibid xv., 1-2.*

The limitations of Aristotle lie in another direction. They are due to his conception of moral excellence as possible only for those who are endowed by nature with special advantages, and by their position are capable of a moral excellence denied to others. Women and slaves, have, in his view, their own moral excellence, but they are essentially lower in type than the free man. This is inseparable from the Greek ideal of life. Hence Tragedy for him is not only the representation of higher moral types than common—which it must be—but its main purpose is the representation of those types which are of the highest moral excellence. Hence there can be for him no perfect tragedy, the central character in which is a woman or a slave; though we fail to see how he could reconcile this view with his knowledge of such a play as Sophocles' *Antigone*.

"Homer", says Aristotle, "makes men better than they are."\* This means that the characters of Homer are of a larger mould, or display the ideal tendencies of humanity better than those of ordinary life. When we consider what Aristotle's conception of moral excellence is—that it consists in a nearer approximation to the ideal standard of free life—it must be obvious that there can, on his view, be no discrepancy between the poetical and the ethical point of view. The character which is poetically the higher is also for him ethically higher. Agamemnon, Ulysses and Achilles, are capable of a moral excellence to which the ordinary citizen cannot attain; they show what the ordinary citizen would be if he were as highly endowed by nature, and were placed in similar circumstances. It, therefore, seems to me that Aristotle is quite consistent with himself in his view of Tragedy as 'imitating' characters of a type morally higher than the average. To take any other view would be to abandon his whole conception of life as an "energy of the soul in accordance with the highest moral excellence in a complete life." It is only from a different conception of morality that we can criticise his aesthetic theory.

"The poet," we are told, "in representing men quick or slow to anger, or with other defects of character, should preserve the type and yet represent them as noble."† The *επεικής* is not absolutely perfect, but as perfect as possible: he is a good citizen, and what Aristotle says is, that the representation of men who

\**Ibid.* ii. 3.

†*Ibid.* xv. 8.

are too quick or too slow to anger (too passionate or too phlegmatic) should not lead him to represent them as morally bad ; *i.e.*, their permanent disposition must be good, though, if they are like Achilles hasty in temper, they may be temporarily led into what is not in accordance with the ideal of a noble man. I do not think it is a question of their 'being ennobled by poetic treatment,' as Mr. Butcher puts it : it is a question of *representing them as noble* in their character or permanent disposition, while not making them flawless. Achilles in Homer is passionate, but he is noble and unselfish : his passion is mingled with indignation at a public wrong, though it has in it an element of personal feeling. Without this element the action of the poem would not proceed. The poet thus represents men of high type, with the defects of their humanity. The idealisation is not the elimination of their humanity, but the representation of real men, placed under conditions which give full play both to their defects and their excellencies.

#### THE FUNCTION OF TRAGEDY.

Tragedy is thus defined :

"Tragedy is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete and of a certain magnitude ; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play ; in the form of action not narrative ; through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation (*xabdaorū;*) of these emotions."\*

This definition has been explained in a great variety of ways. I shall give the latest, and, no doubt, the true interpretation, as expounded at length by Mr. Butcher.†

(1) Tragedy is an 'imitation,' *i.e.*, it agrees with all the fine arts in presenting, not real objects, but copies or representations of them. (2) It represents a '*serious action.*' This is its distinction from comedy ; it must exclude the ludicrous and morally trivial. This is in accordance with Aristotle's whole conception of Tragedy as representing men of like character with ourselves under conditions which reveal what we are ourselves capable of as men. Tragedy does not deal with men in their ordinary everyday life, but only with men who are placed in circumstances

\**Ibid. vi. 2.*

†Aristotle's *Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, chap. vi.

which call out their highest efforts. (3) The action must 'be complete and of a certain magnitude' ; in other words, the whole series of events represented must constitute an organic whole ; hence nothing can be admitted which is not significant. For tragedy is not history or biography ; it is the selection of a series of events which constitute a whole for the imagination. And the action must be of a certain magnitude, *i.e.*, it must be of such a length as to give room for the development of the connected series of events which exhibit the law of human destiny. (4) The 'several kinds of embellishment' are verse and song ; verse without music being employed in the dialogue, lyrical song in the choral parts. (5) Tragedy is distinguished from Epic poetry as being dramatic, not narrative. (6) So far all is plain sailing ; it is the last part of the definition which has given rise to so much controversy. The function ( $\delta\pi\tau\sigma\nu$ ) of Tragedy is "to effect, through pity and fear, the purgation of these emotions". (a) It is now admitted that  $\chi\delta\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\zeta$  is a metaphorical term, transferred to poetry from medicine. As medicine removes from the body certain morbid humours and brings it into its normal or healthy state, so Tragedy removes from the soul a morbid element and enables it to return to the balanced state of self-harmony. (b) To understand Aristotle's view we have to see clearly what he means by pity and fear. Both pity and fear, as experienced in real life, contain an element of pain ( $\lambda\bar{u}\pi\gamma\tau\zeta$ ). Fear is a species of pain or disturbance arising from an impression of impending evil which is destructive or painful in its nature.\* The pain is connected with oneself, and the evil is imagined as close at hand. Pity is a sort of pain at an evident evil of a destructive or painful kind in the case of somebody who does not deserve it, the evil being one which we might expect to happen to ourselves or to some of our friends, and this at a time when it is seen to be near at hand.† Thus fear is connected with oneself, pity with others, though indirectly it is brought into relation with oneself, by the idea that we as men might be placed under similar circumstances. In Aristotle's use of terms, therefore, 'pity' is not the emotion of disinterested sympathy : it has in it an element of egoism, so that the pain we feel for others gets its edge from its relation to ourselves. It is important to bear this in mind ; for

\**Rhet.* *ii.*, 5.

†*Ibid.*, *ii.*, 8.

this egoistic element is the morbid part which Tragedy has to purge away. Further, pity turns into fear when the object is so nearly related to us that the suffering seems to be our own. Pity and fear, are therefore correlative : we pity others, where, under like circumstances, we should fear for ourselves. Those who are incapable of 'fear' are incapable also of 'pity'.\*

How, then, does Tragedy effect the purgation of 'pity' and 'fear'? It does so by connecting these emotions with ideal characters, who are not actual persons but exist only in the realm of imagination. The pity which we feel is not of that personal character which is inseparable from the emotion as experienced in actual life. What excites our pity is the misfortune, not of a particular individual, but of an ideal character, who represents humanity as a whole. Hence the 'fear' excited by the tragic spectacle is also universalised : we tremble for ourselves, because we identify ourselves with the hero in imagination ; so that 'fear' becomes the universalised emotion of pity for all men, including ourselves. The whole tragic effect thus depends upon the imaginative identification of the hero with ourselves. He, too, is a man, with the same essential qualities, the same defects, the same possibilities of happiness or misfortune as ourselves. In the representation of the destiny of the tragic hero, we see our own destiny, 'writ large', or exhibited from a universal point of view. Thus the exhibition of 'pity' and 'fear' by the tragic spectacle is at the same time the enlargement or idealisation of 'pity' and 'fear' as personal experiences, and this effects the 'purgation' of the painful element ; so that the result upon us is one of self-harmony.

Aristotle draws a clear line of distinction between art as an instrument of education for the young, and as a means of enabling citizens of a mature age to retain that well-balanced activity, which constitutes virtue. In this latter connexion he has occasion to consider the influence of melodies which purge emotion by first exciting it. Aristotle had observed the effect of such melodies on that form of religious ecstasy, which the Greeks called 'enthusiasm'. By means of a wild and restless music the internal trouble of the mind was soothed, so that those subject to such transports "fell back into their normal state, as if they

\**Ibid. ii, 8.*

had undergone a medical or purgative treatment." Aristotle, however, holds that in a less degree "those who are liable to pity and fear, and, in general, persons of emotional temperament, pass through a like experience: they all undergo a *καθαρσις* of some kind, and feel a pleasureable relief." Now, this view explains how Aristotle was led to his conception of tragedy. The pity and fear excited by it is analogous to religious enthusiasm, and may be cured in a similar way. But in tragedy, there is the further element of a distinctively aesthetic satisfaction, dependent upon its idealising or universalising influence. In Aristotle's view, therefore, tragedy is educational in the wide sense of the term ; it acts upon the cultured citizen in a way similar to that in which music, as employed in the education of the young, has an influence upon their character. Moreover, the effect which it produces could not be attained in any other way ; for, if the emotional nature is to be transformed, this must be done by first calling it into play. It is thus obvious that art is, in Aristotle's theory, an indispensable element in the preservation of that noble life which constitutes the end. When we add to this, that no tragedy can produce the true *καθαρσις* which is not the embodiment of a high ideal of life, it becomes obvious that art, morality and religion must be in essential harmony with one another ; and that art of an ignoble type is excluded, because it is at once bad art, and bad in its moral and religious influence.

Holding that tragedy produces its peculiar effect by the purgation of pity and fear, Aristotle is led to maintain that only certain types of character can be admitted. (1) In the first place, the representation of a man preeminently good, undergoing the change from prosperity to adversity is not tragic, but shocking (*μαρόν*), and is, therefore, not a fit subject for tragedy. (2) Nor can we allow the representation of the wicked man as passing from adversity to prosperity ; for here, not only are pity and fear absent, but our sense of justice is unsatisfied, and the feeling aroused is one of moral indignation. (3) The overthrow of the utter villain is not tragic, though it gives satisfaction to the moral sense. The main character in a tragedy ought, therefore, to be a man like ourselves, who is involved in misfortune through some great flaw of character or fatal error in conduct. And he must be illustrious in rank and fortune, in order that the signal nature

of the catastrophe may be more strikingly exhibited. (4) Aristotle further implies that the representation of the good man as passing from adversity to prosperity is not a proper subject of tragedy, though, 'owing to the weakness of the audience,' such a play will be generally preferred. Such a motive is very proper in comedy.

When we test the actual dramas by the canon thus laid down, it is impossible to deny that they transcend the limits within which Aristotle would confine tragic art. We have here, in fact, a phenomenon which meets us in the whole course of aesthetic criticism. The creative impulse of poetic genius, stimulated by the enlarged conception of the world which each new age brings with it, will not conform to the narrow limits within which the theorist would confine it.

Aristotle denies that tragedy may represent the *επεικής*, or preeminently good man, as overcome by misfortune, maintaining that such a spectacle is 'shocking' to the moral, or, as we might even say, the religious consciousness. Yet he had before him one of the most perfect dramas of ancient times, the central character of which was of the type excluded. Antigone is a perfect character, and her crime, as Sophocles says, is a 'sinless crime.' Critics, like Gervinus, who can persuade themselves that the Cordelia of Shakespeare's *Lear* merited her fate because she was deficient in 'wise and prudent foresight,' might easily find that Antigone was deficient in that sweet persuasiveness which would have conciliated Creon; but every healthy reader, without an *a priori* theory which has to be maintained at all costs, will frankly recognise that Sophocles violates the Aristotelian canon. Yet the *Antigone* does not cease to be tragic, though it escapes from the limits assigned by Aristotle; nor does it offend our sense of the rationality of divine law. And the reason seems obvious. The poet has lifted us entirely above the region of the actual world of established law, making us feel that all law has its ultimate resource in reason. Here in fact is a case in which poetry has trampled upon the narrow limits of the Greek state, and presented in moving form the principle which has created and impelled the onward march of humanity. This idealising power almost abolishes the limits of Greek thought, and the total effect is one of assured confidence in the triumph of divine

law, when it comes into collision with human law. Thus the *Antigone* is perhaps the one play of the best classical period in which we feel entirely at home. We are not shocked, but elevated, by the tragic ruin of Antigone, because we feel that the divine principle of the world is on her side. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that the *Antigone* only falls short of the Christian conception of life in the absence of that joyous self-sacrifice which the Christian martyr has displayed. There is still in the work of Sophocles rather the heroic sacrifice for a principle which cannot be denied than the overpowering consciousness that the principle, "Die to live," is the very essence of the divine nature.

With Aristotle's second limitation, that tragedy may not represent the villain as passing from adversity to prosperity, we feel ourselves more in unison. But even here we should be disposed to draw a distinction. The prosperity of the wicked will not of itself yield the tragic satisfaction ; but it may do so, if it is so represented as to reveal the spiritual failure which is involved in seeming triumph, for in this case there is revealed to us the inevitable operation of the law that in wickedness there can be no real triumph.

Aristotle's third case, that of the overthrow of the utter villain, is at once disproved by Shakespeare's *Richard III.*, where we have an instance of a tragic spectacle which results in the most complete aesthetic satisfaction. To defend the Aristotelian definition of tragedy, we have, therefore, to free it from the limits imposed upon it by its author. Our satisfaction arises from the representation of a character who struggles against the law of humanity with unexampled power and intelligence, and yet is inevitably brought to ruin by the spiritual forces which he violates. Such a conception, I think, could not have arisen prior to Christianity ; for it was Christianity which revealed to men that good must triumph, whenever it is brought face to face with unredeemed evil.

The result, then, is, that Aristotle's definition of tragedy can only be regarded as the germ of the modern conception, which may be expressed in the words of Bernays, as "an enlargement by sympathy of the individual self into the self of humanity"; but with this more comprehensive conception, we reach a

"generalised conception of tragic motive which is applicable to any serious portrayal of life, however romantic, however fearless, however free from external collision or catastrophe": it will apply to Browning's *Ring and the Book*, not less than to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* or *Othello*; it will not even exclude a poem like Carlyle's *French Revolution*. Such an extension of the Aristotelian formula may, however, be regarded as the inevitable development of the Christian idea of life, which enables us to find in all human beings, whatever their rank or character, the elements of the one fundamental struggle between the principle of goodness and the principle of evil,—a struggle which has its seat and origin in the innermost recesses of the human soul. Thus, not only the content but the form of the drama may be broken, as it is in Browning's 'poetry always dramatic in principle', while the essential spirit survives; and it may even be questioned whether the old form of the drama can be made adequate to the more spiritual content of modern ideas.

#### MEDIEVAL ART.

With the advent of Christianity a new spiritual principle was introduced into the world which could not fail in the long run to transform art, as well as the moral and religious consciousness of the individual and the basis of the state. In the second century of our era, during what has been called the 'minor peace of the Church,' the Christian consciousness seems to have reflected in a joyous, spontaneous fashion, "the eternal goodwill of God to man, in whom, according to the oldest version of the angelic message, he is well pleased." There are some verses quoted or written by Clement of Alexandria, in which expression is given to the feeling that the external universe shares in its degree man's relation to the Creator. Here we have an expression of the idea that all things manifest the divine goodness. This feeling seems to have survived down to the fourth century, and then to have become broken by a consciousness of the imperfection and littleness of man and all his works. This negative element became more and more emphasised as time went on, and gave rise to that dualism of which we find the final expression in Dante, though the spirit of reconciliation animates the whole of the *Divina Commedia*.

Dante's great poem is a striking instance of the inseparable

connexion of art, morality and religion. It is an absolute refutation of the shallow doctrine that poetry can ever be indifferent to truth. For Dante the revelation of eternal truth is the dominant aim, and the mould in which his work is cast is simply the necessary vehicle for its content. Yet Aristotle was right in maintaining that poetry must be direct, concrete and sensuous. When we read Dante's description of the *Commedia* it seems at first sight as if he had violated the fundamental canon of poetry, that it should be "simple, sensuous, passionate." 'Passionate,' it no doubt is, but can we call a poem 'simple' or 'sensuous,' the aim of which is thus stated? "In order to a clear understanding of what I am about to say," Dante writes to Can Grande, "you must know that the sense of this work is not simple; rather the work might be called 'of many senses.' For there is one sense which is got from the letter, and another which is got from the things signified by the letter; and the former is called literal, the latter allegorical or mystical. This mode of treatment, for the better understanding of it, may be considered in the case of these verses: 'When Israel came out of Egypt, and the house of Jacob from among a strange people, Judah was his sanctification and Israel his dominion.' For if we look at the letter alone, there is signified to us the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt in the time of Moses; if at the allegory, our redemption by Christ; if at the moral sense, the conversion of the soul from the grief and misery of sin to a state of grace; if at the anagogic [elevating] sense, the exodus of the holy soul from the bondage of corruption to the liberty of eternal glory." Not only in this letter, but during the course of the poem Dante frequently directs our attention to the 'subtle veil' by which his deeper thought is 'half concealed and half revealed.' The explanation is that the other world which he reveals to us is the symbol of the spiritual forces which are ever in operation in the soul of man—that eternal war between good and evil which constitutes the real life of man. As Greek tragedy lifted the individual above the confusion and triviality of ordinary life by the representation of heroic figures, in whom the ideal tendencies of human nature were manifested; so Dante, by his picture of the state of souls after death, gives us the most vivid representation of the ultimate tendency of evil, the process of spiritual purification, and the om-

nipotence of goodness. Greek tragedy exhibited the conflict of human wills with external forces, or the ruin which befel a great nature from some radical defect or moral flaw ; Dante, with absolutely no respect for persons, exhibits men solely as they appear in the pure aether of the eternal world, where nothing counts except the spiritual nature as evil, repentant or good. By thus reflecting human action upon the background of the eternal or spiritual world he is enabled to strip off all the adventitious wrappings which in actual life confuse our judgments, and to appraise men's deeds by an absolute standard. Yet he never loses for a moment the definiteness and pictorial accuracy which poetry demands. This combination of poetic and spiritual truth, under conditions which made it seem *a priori* impossible, shows what a potency lies in a great original genius to transform the most intractable material.

#### MODERN ART.

When we pass with Shakespeare to the modern world we feel at once what a revolution has taken place. The double world of Dante has disappeared, and with it the allegorical and mystical meanings which are inseparable from the structure of the *Divina Commedia*. It is as if we had emerged from the portals of a cathedral, with its dim religious light, its harmonies of form and colour, and its impassioned organ notes, into the wide spaces and the joyous sunlight of the real world. Our first impression in reading Shakespeare is apt to be that the whole religious spirit of the middle ages has vanished away, and that we are in the presence of a mere man of the world who "cares for none of these things." We feel, in fact, as if we had returned to the directness and fresh interest in life, which was characteristic of the ancient world. It would, however, be an entire mistake to suppose that the modern and the ancient world are on the same plane. The relative simplicity of an earlier age can never return : there is no going back in the great movement of humanity ; what seems a return being really a parallel movement on a higher plane. The long toil of the middle ages was the necessary stage through which the western world had to pass in order to escape from barbarism, to assimilate the culture of Greece and the political civilization of Rome, and to become saturated with the spirit of Christianity. This process is pre-

supposed in the dramas of Shakespeare. The transforming influence of Christianity is not at first obvious, because it has penetrated so deeply. The tragic motive in Shakespeare has broken through the boundaries of Greek art, and the divine meaning of the world is extracted even from representatives of pure evil like Richard III, and is more obviously exhibited in such pictures of Christian womanliness and strength of principle as Cordelia, whose spirit triumphs even in her death. Once more we find that poetic perfection is inseparable from ethical and religious content. Shakespeare has a deeper faith in the principle that 'morality is the nature of things' than any Greek poet; so deep a faith that he can see it exhibited in a Macbeth, a Lear, and a Hamlet.

That Shakespeare, with his unerring instinct, consciously rejected the dualism of the middle ages, even in the *form* of his work, is evident from the light and easy way in which he disposes of the formalism, the double meanings and the mysticism of the middle ages. Conscious allegory, which was inseparable from the form of Dante's work, is for Shakespeare a form of medieval pedantry. The formal law of identity, which the scholastic logicians maintained to be the fundamental principle of thought, is disposed of by a quip of the Clown in *Twelfth Night*:

*Clo. Bonos dies, Sir Toby;* for as the old hermit of Prague, that never saw pen and ink, very wittily said to the niece of King Gorbo-duc, "That, that is, is," so I, being master parson, am master parson, for what is that, but that? and is, but is?"

Shakespeare's own theory of dramatic art is expressed by Hamlet:

"For anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was, and is, to hold as t'were *the mirror up to nature*; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age, and body of the time, his form and pressure."

It is obvious that we have here a clear expression of the doctrine, that the object of dramatic art is to represent human life as it actually is. At the same time, Shakespeare implies that it is not a mere servile copy of the actual: the 'form and pressure of the time,' i.e., the whole spirit or tendency of the age, is the object of aesthetic imitation. Thus Shakespeare at once brings us back to the present world as the true object of poetry, and in-

sists upon the necessity of its ethical content. The infinite value of the human soul and the eternal significance of human life underlie the whole of his work ; but, whereas in Dante this could only be represented under the form of another world, in Shakespeare it operates by giving an added force and tenderness to the penetrative imagination. The spiritual aspect of life has not disappeared, but it has ceased to be a separate and independent world. Here and now, as Shakespeare implies, man may live in the eternal : his destiny for weal or woe is determined by his character as manifested in his deeds, not by any pressure of eternal circumstance.

The spiritual significance of the actual is therefore the burden of all modern art, worthy of the name. Man's real warfare is not with principalities and powers, but with himself; and he is the truest artist who most powerfully and accurately exhibits the meaning of this warfare. This is the sense in which art is ideal. Its identity does not consist either in the creation of a vague and fantastic world, or in the mere imitation of the world as it appears to the prosaic understanding, but in penetrative insight into the human heart and human life. The contrast of Realism and Idealism in art is false : the true real is the spiritual significance of the actual, and this is the ideal. From this point of view there can be no opposition between art, morality and religion. There is, indeed, a distinction, but it is one that rests upon their perfect harmony.

When it is said of Shakespeare that his work is penetrated by the spirit of Christianity, this claim is not inconsistent with the fact that it was after a long and severe process that he came to the explicit consciousness of the true meaning of life. For we must remember that the Christian life admits of many degrees of complexity. In simple natures, where the elements are least mixed, and the conditions of life are also of the simplest kind, faith in God and the triumph of goodness seems to come almost by nature. On the other hand that faith is of a rare and child-like character. Just as there is a unity in the unspoiled child, which is the image of the higher harmony of the developed man ; so there are Christians whose life has hardly ever been ruffled by doubt or despondency, and who, therefore, pass almost without effort from the natural to the spiritual life. Such types become

more and more rare with the deepened reflection and self-consciousness of the modern world, and are found, perhaps, only in natures of remarkable natural sweetness and simplicity,—and above all among women, such as Shakespeare loved to paint, in whom purity, gentleness and tender sympathy are as spontaneous as refined and moving grace. Shakespeare himself was not of this child-like type of character. His superabundant vigour of body and soul, and his poetic sensibility to all that makes for a full and free life, made it impossible for him to reach self-harmony without passing through a hard and varied experience ; and in his work we can see clear traces of the process. The man who was as much at home with Falstaff as with Hamlet, with Gratiano as with Lear, was so many-sided in his sympathy as to seem “not one but all mankind’s epitome.” But it is this very fact which gives such importance to the conception of human life which he was led to form. Every man of genius in a sense begins *de novo* : nothing has meaning for him except what he has himself experienced ; and it is this originality which marks him off from the ordinary man, who, to a large extent, lives in the traditional and customary. In Shakespeare, the greatest dramatic genius the world has ever seen, this is true in a pre-eminent degree : he lives over again the life of the race, and by the force of his imaginative sympathy he runs through the whole gamut of experience which in others is broken up into fragments. Now, this makes the experience of such a man of supreme significance. The Christian consciousness is in its fundamental character the same in all men ; in all it consists in the consciousness that we must die to live,—that the purely individual self must be transformed by identification with the divine ; but the lesson of life through death to the lower self has a shallower or a deeper meaning according to the breadth and complexity and energy of what is transformed. If, therefore, we find that Shakespeare, after testing the whole experience of the race, reaches the conclusion that the world is divine, in the sense that nothing can withstand the omnipotence of goodness, we have one of the strongest proofs that Christianity, which alone embodies this faith, rests upon the eternal truth of things. This is a proof of the divine nature of Christianity, of which Apologists do not seem to have felt the force,—mainly, I suppose, because they have confused the acci-

dents of the Christian creed with its imperishable essence. What then, is the sum of Shakespeare's teaching? It is not his way to express his conclusion in an abstract formula; but, if we follow him, as he represents character after character, it cannot be doubted that he declares the world to be based upon the principle that evil always results in spiritual disaster, and goodness is always triumphant over even the worst forms of evil. Such a testimony, coming from one who was no ascetic, no narrow-minded bigot, no intellectual weakling, has a convincing force which cannot be surpassed. For it is spontaneously given by a man of entire veracity, who was no stranger to the evil of the world; to one who had sounded the deepest depths of pessimism, and, as we see from *Timon of Athens*, passed through a stage in which for a time the world seemed to be given over to vileness and corruption—to be, in fact, a world in which the terrible word seemed literal truth, that "God was dead." Nothing can exceed the bitterness of disgust of life and pessimism which permeates this play; and we may conjecture from its unfinished state, that, even in writing it, Shakespeare had already gone beyond it and felt that he had transgressed the limits of art and truth. At any rate, it was but a point of transition through which he passed; and we have in *Cymbeline*, the *Winter's Tale*, and above all the *Tempest*, generally admitted to be the last of his plays, the large imaginative sympathy which enables him to enter with kindly appreciation into the youthful love of Ferdinand and Miranda, and to make open confession of an optimistic creed. The outbuds of passion are gone, and in their place we have the highest religious emotion, which does not despise all earthly life, but reviews it in the light of the eternal. As has been beautifully said: "The man who most profoundly measured all the heights and depths of human nature, and saw most fully all the humour and pathos, all the comedy and tragedy of the lot of man upon earth, was not embittered or hopelessly saddened by his knowledge, but brought out of it all in the end a serene and charitable view of existence, a free sympathy with every joy and sorrow of humanity, and a conviction that good is stronger than ill, and that the great soul of the world is just."<sup>\*</sup>

\*E. Caird, *Cont. Rev.*, Decr., 1896, p. 834.

But, though Shakespeare summed up the past, presenting it in all its variety and living power, he did not exhaust the whole experience of man, leaving nothing for his successors to do. There can be no finality in poetry, any more than in science or philosophy, for the simple reason that humanity is always in process. After Shakespeare comes Milton ; and Milton, though not of his predecessor's regal rank, has something to tell us which we cannot learn from Shakespeare. The Renaissance and the Reformation began the work of liberating man from the weight of tradition and external authority, but they did not in the first instance liberate him from the despotism of the State. It was the sovereign, and not the body of the people, who was the embodiment of the universal will. Shakespeare's political ideal was that of a puissant nation, throwing off all foreign allegiance, political or ecclesiastical, and this ideal he embodied in a heroic King like Henry V, fitted to lead its armies against a foreign foe. It was only in the age of the Stuarts that the demand for absolute civic and religious freedom broke out ; and of this new movement Milton is the spokesman as Cromwell was the hero.

In the present century, there was a new poetic movement which is not represented by Shakespeare. That he was not insensible to the life and beauty of nature, there are numerous passages in his works which abundantly testify ; but his main interest was in human life, and in human character in its more complex phases. Shakespeare is an impassioned patriot, but he has nothing but contempt for a democracy. In Wordsworth we have a poet who, as Goethe said of Winckelmann, has "provided a new organ for the human spirit," or, in his own words, has "widened the sphere of human sensibility." Like Dante he regarded himself, not as the idle singer of an empty day, "but as one who had a sacred message to deliver." "Every great poet," he says, "is a teacher. I wish to be considered as a teacher, or as nothing." Interpreted in the wide and liberal sense, the claim of Wordsworth was substantiated. "Poetry", as he says, "is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge ; it is the impassioned expression which is on the countenance of all science." In his youth he was a strong partisan of the Revolution, because of his faith in man and his indifference to all the external disparities of rank and circumstance ; and because of this inextinguishable faith, he

became the poet of the Reconstruction. His great work is to make us feel the unity of nature, as when he tells us, speaking of the boy on Winderniere, that

“A gentle shock of mild surprise  
Has carried far into his heart the voice  
Of mountain torrents.”

Thus he discloses the unity of spirit which speaks in man and nature. Similarly, he is the poet of the “primary spiritual interests of human life,” of the

“Joy in widest commonalty spread.

“The worth of man’s life is not to be measured by difference of culture any more than by difference of rank or wealth.” Wordsworth has faith in the unity of humanity and the continuity of its development; he believes that there is

“One great society alone on earth  
The noble living and the noble dead.”

And finally, like all great poets, he has the optimistic faith that good is stronger than evil:

“Sighing I turned away; but ere  
Night fell I heard, or seemed to hear,  
Music that sorrow comes not near—  
A ritual hymn,  
Chanted in love that casts out fear  
By Seraphim.”

In this rapid survey my aim has been to show that the best poetry and the best aesthetic criticism agree in regarding art as inseparable from its spiritual content. While poetry must always be concrete, it must at the same time be an embodiment of the meaning of nature and of human life, or it will fail to produce the aesthetic effect of self-harmony. We have also seen that, as man develops, the significance of life becomes ever deeper. Greek art seems at first sight to effect the reconciliation of morality and religion with art, in a way that is not possible for the modern poet, in whom the division between the actual and the ideal has been stretched to its utmost limit. But, when we look more closely, we discover that the reconciliation could not be permanently satisfactory. Aristotle, in order to reconcile the aesthetic with the reflective consciousness has to fall back upon the unsatisfactory doctrine, that poetry must accept the popular con-

ception of the Gods ; in other words, that its truth is of a kind inferior to the truth of philosophy. For, as in him God is a Being beyond the world, who is wrapped in self-contemplation, the world is a sphere in which finitude and contingency prevail, and the most that we can say is that each thing and especially each human being is continually striving after a completeness to which it can never attain. The relative perfection of man is therefore dependent upon chance and fortune, and is liable to suffer eclipse from the interposition of the unforeseen and incalculable. With the advent of Christianity a new principle was introduced, which brought the divine and the human into immediate union. There is no real contingency in the world ; but all things proceed from and manifest the divine. At first this consciousness is expressed in a narrow way ; but, as the long struggle between barbarism, unbridled passion, ignorance and selfish ambition is met by the stronger influence of Christianity, the antagonism of this world and the next, secular and sacred, nationality and empire, reason and faith, is emphasised ; and when Dante seeks to give it poetic expression he is forced to seek for a reconciliation of the human and divine in the construction of a supersensible world, which seems to be in absolute contrast to the actual. The reconciling spirit of Christianity, however, could not be entirely lost, and hence we find that, in effect, his picture of the state of souls after death is an image of the deeper meaning of life here and now. With the modern world, the dualism of the Middle Ages is transcended in principle. Shakespeare finds in the actual life of man on earth the key to the true meaning of the world ; and his successors merely deepen and give new applications to the principle which he has re-discovered—the principle once for all proclaimed by our Lord, that he who saves his life shall lose it, and he who loses his life shall save it. If our survey has done nothing else, it may at least confirm us in the faith that man can be at unity with himself only as he is in unity with God. Poetry, by its universalising power, and its capacity of lifting us above the confusion of the immediate, enables us to see that, while each of us can do little in himself to help on the race, that little has an infinite value when it is viewed as a factor in the process by which God enables the race to 'work out its own salvation.' Thus the highest art, like the best philosophy, teaches us that man may make himself eternal,

and enables us to transcend that fretful and despairing pessimism, which would lead us to believe that

"Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player  
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,  
And then is heard no more."

When we see, as our great poets teach us to see, that we are "fellow-workers with God", we may surely enter upon our little tasks with the assured confidence that all work done in the fear of the Lord has an infinite value. Great problems, theoretical and practical, still lie before the race. We are far from having solved the difficulties, social and political, which the enlarged sympathy of modern times sets before us ; but, with the faith which comes from a comprehensive survey, we need be neither impatient nor despairing. The time must come when all men shall, in a more real sense than now, be the 'Lord's freemen' ; and we, who have inherited the fruit of the long toil and travail of the past, owe it to our brethren yet to come to purify our own lives, and bring all the institutions of society into more complete harmony with the spirit of Christianity, which is the revelation of the inmost nature of God.

JOHN WATSON.

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#### THE THOUSAND ISLANDS.

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'Tis here, 'tis there a dot,  
A lovely spot  
With beauty fraught.  
For painter's easel what a scene,  
For poet's fancy what a dream,  
Ye islands seem !

Or near, or far ye lie  
     'gainst heaven's blue sky,  
     Or low, or high.

With inlets stretching cool and deep,  
 Where playful wavelets gently creep  
     To kiss your feet.

Now large, now small ye are,  
     Yet fair, aye fair  
     Beyond compare ;

All decked in Summer's livery green,  
 The brown rocks peeping through between  
     The birch-tree's sheen.

With grace and ease ye ride  
     In tranquil pride  
     Upon the tide

Whose gentle ebbing seems to lave  
 Your shores, and benediction crave  
     With every wave.

The birds their sweetest song  
     Sing all day long  
     Your trees among.

They love your undisturbed bowers,  
 They love to kiss, in golden hours,  
     Your wildwood flowers.

And in your channels deep,  
     Which fret and sweep,  
     Or rest in sleep,

The perch and sun-fish flash their sides  
 With richest gold of sunbeam dyed,  
     And pickerel hide.

Ah ! here that I might drift ;  
     I might dream and drift  
     For aye ! Nor lift

The veil beyond, where fancy's spell  
 Surrounds each rock-bound citadel,  
     Where wood-sprites dwell.

HELOISE DUPUIS TAYLOR.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

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REFLECTIONS on the late Spanish-American war are naturally much in vogue, and they are not all without profit. Doubtless the Americans may be said to have accomplished their Peace and After. object. Yet the object as it emerges from the war as little resembles that which went into it, as the troops returning from Cuba are like those who went there. The declaration of the United States Congress with reference to their brief and disinterested purpose in Cuba, like the English pledges to quit Egypt, has been added to the things which the nation will have to live down. The Americans went into Cuba to save the Cubans from the Spaniards, an act of philanthropy very needful; they have discovered that they will have to remain there to save the Cubans from themselves, an act of philanthropy still more urgent. Let us hope that the burden of the United States Government will not be increased by the necessity of saving its wards from the Americans.

The discovery that the Cubans, or the inhabitants of other Spanish possessions which the United States may hold, are quite unfit for self-government is not necessarily ground for adverse criticism of the action of the United States in liberating them from Spanish rule. To avoid such criticism, however, the Americans must not abandon them to self-government, or give them no better than Spanish rule.

To give good government to the late Spanish possessions is the real pledge which the United States has given to the civilized world. Considering the past and present of those regions, the American republic has taken upon itself a very onerous and delicate obligation. Those Americans who are clamoring most loudly for the retention of all the late Spanish possessions, with a single eye for the wealth to be gathered from them, have no idea of the gravity of the task assumed. Success or failure will shed lustre or cast shadows upon the whole nation, but the glory or the shame will belong directly to the executive, a department of the American system which is now to be tested in quite new ways. Meanwhile another result of the war has been specially agitating the Union, namely the breakdown which occurred in the commis-

sariat and medical departments. As in the case of similar conditions in the Crimean war, or the mismanagement of our own Northwest fracas, the failure may be attributed to the unpreparedness and inexperience resulting from a long peace. Compared with the perfect management of the Soudan campaign just ended the defects are very glaring. But deplorable as the results have been for the American soldiers, there is still some grain of comfort winnowed by this ill wind. To the great mass of unreflective Americans the felicitous close of their highly successful campaign against the Spaniards would have brought the idea that war was a glorious, patriotic and elevating occupation. We should have had a very deluge of jingoistic editorials, proving the most infallible connection between war and all the virtues which sustain our frail humanity. But the wail which has gone up over lost and shattered lives has put a severe check upon all that. The people have been reminded with cruel frankness that war is laden not with airs from heaven but blasts from hell.

The far Eastern question which has been passing through so many phases of late has been particularly exercising the English The Chinese Problem. jingoes. They have been accusing the Government of craven heartedness, ignorance, want of policy and all manner of incapacity. At the same time their own declarations of policy afford good grounds for thankfulness on the part of sober-minded Britons in all parts of the Empire, that these ultra-imperialists are not burdened with the direction of the nation's foreign affairs. These forward persons are abundantly supplied with vigorous ultimatums which ought to be presented in the initial stages of every delicate discussion with a foreign power. They are particularly certain as to the course to be followed in every new partition of the heritage of the heathen. Britain having obtained so much of that heritage in the past, the impressionist school of imperial politicians are apt to assume that the Empire stands related to the heathen as their only legitimate heir-at-law. Even should there be any collateral heirs they must be required to adopt British methods in the management of their portion of the estate.

That the British method of managing such estates is by far the best, doubtless no reasonable person would care to deny, un-

less, indeed, we are to admit that Russians, Germans, Frenchmen and some others are reasonable persons. At the very least we may assume that those who doubt the superiority of this method are mistaken. But then there is always some difficulty in convincing them of their mistakes, and it may be doubted whether an early and vigorous ultimatum, with the immediate prospect of abandoning logic for bloodshed, is the most educative influence which can be brought to bear upon them.

Meanwhile that perverse little-Englisher, Lord Salisbury, who after all probably knows more than the forwards about the needs of the Empire and the possibilities and impossibilities of diplomacy, has been managing the foreign affairs of the nation with great calmness. He has forborne to convince the world at the point of the sword of the superiority of the English methods of conducting foreign trade. In the case of China, if the other nations interested cannot be brought to keep open house there, he will adopt a give and take policy, which will recognize spheres of influence, and permit each power to administer its prospective inheritance as it sees fit.

At present, however, the most anomalous feature of the Chinese situation is that the nations engaged in staking out claims in China are not yet dealing directly with each other. The Chinese government is still recognized as legally in possession.

The powers are thus in the awkward position of rival suitors for the hand of a fickle heiress whose virtue is not above suspicion. Considering the artifices necessary to successful wooing, it is doubtful whether the nation which has most success or the one which has least will have more cause to feel humiliated. But whatever the final outcome of the Chinese entanglement may be, Lord Salisbury's record as a foreign minister gives ample assurance that the permanent interests of the Empire will be maintained with a minimum loss of national self-respect.

The success of Britain as a self-governing power at home, as the mother and patron of flourishing self-governing powers abroad, Britain and Alliances. and as the administrator of foreign dependencies of all grades of inferior civilization, and all this without a protective tariff, without military conscription, and without entangling alliances, is a standing occasion of sur-

prise, envy and even irritation on the part of the other nations of Europe. To most European statesmen Britain is the embodiment of the impossible. Thus, apparently on most points and really on some, she is a standing criticism of their system. Naturally, therefore, as much to justify themselves to themselves as in answer to their own critics, they seek to belittle the British success. Elaborate articles are penned by continental writers, some seeking to prove that Britain occupies a position of great weakness, without allies, and without adequate means of defence for her scattered possessions and still more scattered trade, others to prove that this ambitious grasping, and perfidious power threatens the prosperity of every other nation, and if not checked may eventually swallow the whole earth.

The fact is that Britain has for the most part, in practice if not in theory, proceeded on the very sound principle that the normal condition of national life is one of peace, industry, commerce and self-expression generally, with a minimum regard for theoretical possibilities of destruction by international lightning and tempest. If in the past Britain, like some other powers, had spent her substance in elaborate preparations to meet possible combinations and attacks she would never have been in a position to excite as she does to-day the flattering envy of Europe. Several other nations of Europe, with greater natural resources and equal prospects, are burdening themselves to the utmost degree in preparation for some great Armageddon which each is afraid to begin, but the precipitation of which each daily dreads and strives to be prepared for. Beyond individual efforts extra strength is sought in alliances, which themselves involve bonds and sacrifices and are immediately met by counter alliances. Britain alone of the first rate powers has of late escaped most of the burdens of war during peace, and all the bonds and sacrifices of alliance. Yet there is always more or less of a clamorous and pessimistic element in the nation to whom the continental method represents the true national ideal, neglect to follow which threatens the Empire with black destruction. From this section comes, among other sounds, the cry for alliances and the efforts which we find to drive an understanding with Germany on special matters, or improved family relations with the United States over into a military alliance.

England prospers through being on speaking terms and in business intercourse with every nation. To commit herself to any alliance would destroy this enviable attitude in as much as it would involve a more or less specific declaration of hostility to certain other nations. An alliance directed against no one in particular is meaningless ; none such exists and none such is seriously proposed. Though those who are striving to commit Britain to alliances are by no means agreed in their choice of an ally, yet all are as very specific as to the nation or nations against which their alliances are to be directed. To thus formally declare a settled hostility is surely unwise, and justifiable only when no other attitude is possible.

But England is in no such extremity. Just because she stands apart from the definite hostilities of Europe, she is liable to be alternately courted and threatened by the powers with a freedom they dare not use to each other. Neither France, Germany, nor Russia, would care to drive Britain to extremities. Though, owing to her myriad interests in every corner of the world, causes for dispute with each are never wanting. Yet none of these causes can ever compare with the importance of mutually checking each other. At most Britain threatens only some minor, outward interest of the continental powers, while they threaten each other's very national existence.

Certainly it would be a very unwise policy on the part of Britain to rudely provoke any of the other powers, as her interests are manifestly served by being at peace with all nations. It is her place to cultivate good understanding and commercial intercourse, to develop mutual obligations and common interests, thus leading the nations by self-interest not antagonizing them by threats. Standing in untrammeled freedom, but not in isolation, in harmony with all, but in alliance with none, is undoubtedly the ideal position for Britain and the Empire in international politics.

Again anarchy has startled the world by one of the most dastardly and meaningless of crimes, the murder of the Empress of Austria. To most people this monstrous deed will appear so thoroughly inane that insanity alone would seem to explain it. Yet, though perhaps appearing to the more enlightened anarchists as the result of mistaken zeal,

to the rank and file of those who profess anarchistic doctrines this deed will not appear more wanton or savage than the slaying of some heartless tyrant to the normal citizen of former times.

The Anarchist has persuaded himself that all the misery, wretchedness and evil in the world are directly due to the present supremely unjust organization of society. To the more ignorant Anarchist, encouraged, it is true, by the teaching of his leaders, this injustice is concretely embodied in those who hold places of distinction in official society. As a matter of fact, even rulers who actually govern are by no means the embodiment of the present order of society, and their destruction would have no necessary effect upon its character. But the rank and file of Anarchy, like great numbers of men in the case of more harmless beliefs, adopt and hold their views by faith not by knowledge. The practical Anarchist is quite sure that the only way to bring about universal peace and happiness is to rid the world of its rulers, preferably its important ones first and the lesser ones afterwards, yet each removal counts. It is quite true that the latest victim, the Empress of Austria, had practically nothing to do with the political affairs of her own country, much less of Europe. Yet such a statement would doubtless appear ridiculous to the faith-sustained Anarchist. Does not many a British soldier firmly believe that the Queen rules England and personally directs the disposition of the army? That such persons as the Empress of Austria are among those chiefly responsible for the evils of the world, is as plain to the misguided Anarchist as it is to certain other would-be reformers that the millionaire extracts his millions from the tramp, the pauper, and the unemployed, or to still others, that the public revenue derived from liquor is largely contributed by the widow, the orphan, and the bar-room loafer. It is not in the character of the data on which they rely, nor in the logical processes by which they arrive at their conclusions, that the Anarchists differ from other misguided philanthropists. They are unique only in the methods which they adopt for righting the wrongs of the world. These methods are so drastic and their victims so prominent that society feels outraged in a special degree; hence, after each prominent assassination, serious discussion arises as to how the world is to protect itself from this variety of fanatical reformer.

Inasmuch as such crimes are not committed with criminal intent, or with any sordid personal end in view, but usually from a hideously mistaken sense of duty, it is impossible to stamp out the ideas which give rise to them, by any of the methods commonly resorted to for the repression of crime. By international measures of a very stringent nature, Anarchy might be driven below the surface, but such action would simply add to the righteousness of its principles in the eyes of the faithful. The world is full of spoiled lives for whom death has little terror, but for whom a fancied revenge joined to the distinction of martyrdom might have strong attractions. To such, drastic repression means only encouragement. Tempted as the nations may be to attempt the vigorous stamping out of Anarchy, to give way to the temptation would be a mistake. Nothing will have so withering an effect upon this unwholesome fungus as light and ventilation. While criminal acts must be promptly punished, yet theories which advocate them as cures for social evils can be met only by free discussion, which will soonest prove their absurdity and wickedness. Many a proposition most stimulating and awe inspiring when whispered in perilous secret proclaims its own absurdity when spoken in public.

It is premature to attempt to forecast the outcome of the Quebec Conference, especially since the Premier has characterized as The Quebec Conference. unmitigated bosh the guesses of the newspapers as to what has been going on within the veil of that important assembly. Most of the papers, anxious enough for saleable news, would prefer to have the Conference carried on in public under the stimulus of counter shouts of encouragement and disapprobation, of solemn warnings and gratuitous advice from a closely packed press gallery, not to mention a medley of discordant cries from all manner of conflicting private interests from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and even considerably seaward off both coasts. Wisely, however, they have sought such shelter as is available these days, and the chances for making progress are much increased.

Of all the subjects to be dealt with, that of trade relations, though not perhaps the most irritating, is by far the most important to Canadians. All other matters have mainly a local or sec-

tional interest, but whether Canada shall or shall not have freer trade connection with the rest of the continent, is a vital question for the future of the country. In its political or social relations Canada sacrifices nothing in having a distinct national existence. There is free intercourse for persons and free exchange of ideas. But in the matter of trade Canada is a narrow transcontinental strip of industry and commerce, separated from the great body of industry and commerce to the south by hostile tariffs, and broken up in its domestic intercourse by costly transportation over hitherto barren areas. Moreover, it is divided in its oldest and most populous section by the interposition of a distinct nationality having little intercourse, commercial, social, or intellectual, with the English elements to the east and west of it. Thus this country labors under economic disadvantages as compared with the nation to the south, which have hitherto prevented its corresponding development, and which have presented a steady inducement to great numbers of the more active and enterprising youth of Canada to seek their fortunes in the United States. The success of many of these Canadian emigrants may be flattering to the land which produced them, but it is a strong inducement to others to follow their example. Each political party attempts to lay the responsibility for the exodus at the door of the other, but, for the most part, quite unreasonably; the causes of the exodus are not political but economic. The emigration of so much of the best blood of Canada to the United States will never cease until there is equality of opportunity and outlet as between the two countries. This can exist only under two conditions: either when Canada has within itself as large and thrifty a population and as varied interests as the United States; or when no one requires to leave Canada in order to enjoy as complete a command of the continental advantages as are to be had in the United States. Owing to the physical character of our country the first condition can never be fulfilled, a certainty which no patriotism however unreasonable can overcome. The second condition is within the range of the possible, but whether it will ever be actual will depend on what may be accomplished by such conferences as the one now assembled at Quebec. To give the Canadian in Canada an equal opportunity with the Canadian in the United States, there is required free access to the American mar-

kets. True, the objection to this on the part of Americans commonly is. You cannot expect us to open to you a market of sixty millions in return for one of five millions. So far as the matter is looked at from the point of view of the seller, this objection is very strong. But looked at from the point of view of the buyer, the advantage is reversed. The difficulty of getting the interest of the buyer recognized is due to the fact that as a seller the interest of each is concentrated on one article, whereas as a buyer it is diffused over many articles. With protectionist ideas still strong on both sides of the boundary we cannot hope for many concessions to free intercourse. Each will desire free exchange in the lines in which it is strong which will be the very lines in which the other will desire to maintain barriers. It cannot be denied that improved intercourse is of more moment to Canada than the United States, and there is certainly a keen interest throughout the Dominion as to the result of the Conference in relation to trade.

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## THE POWER AND TRAINING OF THE PULPIT.

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**O**PINION is divided as to whether the pulpit is losing or gaining power. According to some and from one point of view it is losing ; according to others and from another point of view it is gaining. Much depends on sympathy and outlook as well as knowledge of the question. One can but say with which side the preponderance of opinion rests, supporting his judgment by such evidence as he may be able to produce.

To make a good beginning and avoid confusion farther on, let us define our terms. What are we to understand by the pulpit ? A widely extended institution, and not individual preachers, whose function is the stated, orderly ministry of the Word. Within these limits, its aim is to educate and reform, to exert a social and civilizing force, to improve the moral condition of the world, and to unite all these ends in one supreme result, the salvation of men.

And what are we to understand by the power of the pulpit ? Power may be defined as the capability of producing an effect ; intelligent power, the capability of producing a designed effect. The power of the pulpit then is the ability to realize the ends at which the pulpit as a great institution aims, namely, to reform and save the world through the preaching of the Gospel. Sometimes the term influence is confounded with power, and it may be well to keep them separate, since they are not quite the same. The pulpit may be more learned, more true, more living, and

have more inherent power than ever, and yet by force of circumstances be less influential than formerly. Power may be a constant or a growing quantity, yet circumstances may arise by which its effect is more or less neutralized. The skill of brain and hand may be no less now than fifty years ago, but it is less in demand, and earns less than it did then, and the reason is that new circumstances and agencies have arisen which have partially deprived it of its former effect and profit. So may it be with the pulpit. Its real power depends on itself ; its influence depends on this power, and a combination of circumstances. This latter fact must be borne in mind as we come to a judgment respecting the loss or gain.

Now, what of this power ? Is it less or more than it used to be ? Less, according to some. "The decline of the pulpit", "The decay of preaching", "The lost influence of the Church", and other sayings like these, are in certain quarters accepted common-places of our time. But the pulpit has no monopoly of cant, and that is a sample of the kind of cant to be met with outside. "The Church has too readily acquiesced in the view that she is now so little able to be a prime teacher, or guiding light of men in respect of all that is highest, truest, and newest, in what may be known of nature, man, and God. If the Church writes herself down in letters of incapacity, or uninspired force, what wonder that the Age takes her at her own poor estimate" ! The Church is not exempt from the law of self-respect any more than other institutions. If she forgets the respect due to herself, it is quite too much to expect the world, her antagonist at every point, to remember it. We are too ready to acknowledge some of the substitutes for her which secularism would thrust upon us. She has done too much for the world's betterment in giving it a Christian civilization, to speak at this late date "with bated breath, and whispered humbleness of realities that are supernal." Let her gird herself, not with the authority of tradition and ecclesiasticism, but that of Truth—strong to-day as in Milton's time—next to God Almighty, and then men will hasten to acknowledge and bless her power.

In attempting to form a correct estimate of contemporary pulpit power, certain circumstances of our time must be considered. Not that they are strictly new, for in some degree they

have always existed, but they now prevail in possibly a more acute form than for a long time past, and are contributory to the apparent decline of pulpit power which some people, friendly and unfriendly, seem willing to admit. Powerful agencies for good have arisen which cross former lines of pulpit activity. Subjects of which the pulpit once had a monopoly are now discussed and largely settled in legislative halls, on the public platform, and by the press ; and thus it is brought into competition with wide-spread forces which formerly either did not exist, or were not so potent as they are now. But the introduction and energetic activity of these forces do not imply that the pulpit has necessarily lost any of its power. The use of steam and electricity has placed new forces at man's disposal, but has not weakened at all those previously in use. The traction power of the horse and the motive power of wind and water are as great as ever. The relation and distribution of influence have been shifted. That is all. The new agencies may be more demonstrative than the pulpit, and still the power of the pulpit may have increased, and the very agencies which are regarded as its rivals may have become means for augmenting its efficiency. There may be no loss, only a new distribution of power.

A great pulpit to-day preaches to the whole Christian world as its congregation. The press takes up its message with avidity, and multiplies it by tens of thousands ; and that message becomes a very significant factor in a life more agitated, more active, more influential than of old ; and if the life forces are becoming more intensified the pulpit gains, if only indirectly, by sharing in the heat and vitality of these intensified elements.

Is it not a fact also, that this very momentum of a larger life reacts beneficially upon the Church if her preachers are only strong and consecrated enough, and enthusiastic enough, to rise with, nay to lead the flowing tide ? Loss in the relative prominence of an agency does not, therefore, necessarily imply a decrease of real or absolute power.

One circumstance which is a standing menace to the power of the pulpit is the aggressive, subtle worldliness of these days. This, of course, is not a new foe, but it wears a new face which often masks its real character, and it ramifies in new directions, reaching out with an octopus embrace for the Church herself,

and deceiving sometimes even the elect. This devotion to Mammon worship is making the preacher's task peculiarly difficult. The amazing material development of the century has intoxicated the world. In the face of this fact, however, the large congregations which listen to the Gospel, and the generous support they give to Christian and philanthropic work, furnish proof, if that were needed, that the power of the pulpit has not yet seriously declined. At the same time it must be confessed there are large wastes the pulpit does not reach. Although multitudes throng the Churches, multitudes also are impatient of being taught even in centres where the pulpit is endowed with gifts of the highest order. And what to do to overcome this impatience and apathy is a problem of grave concern. Some of the expedients used are worse than failures. When the pulpit degrades itself and furnishes sensational attractions in competition with its worldly rivals, and abdicates its high office of speaking to men of the love and righteousness of the Eternal Father, even those who go to be amused do not hesitate to pour their scorn on the religious show. They accept such preaching at its own low valuation. Worldly methods are blighting the pulpit. Men cannot serve God and Mammon. As Ezekiel said of many of his day: "Their heart goeth after their covetousness." Anything to gain the world. The excitement and feverish haste and unscrupulous methods of our time—what do they all mean? The answer is, hasting to be rich. And the pulpit may not have wholly escaped the contagion. When that happens the preacher may preserve his integrity, but sanctity of character he does not impress. His message may be good yet makes nobody tremble. He is an occupant of the pulpit but not a preacher. He is tainted with the worldly spirit. The divinity is dead within him. He is like the watchman of whom the prophet speaks, a dumb dog that cannot bark. The world-spirit has muzzled him. And "the friendship of the world is enmity with God."

Again, the recent development of scientific interest has introduced a cultus quite unfriendly to the pulpit. Some of us are old enough to remember the dreary time when the pulpit was in a panic, and the scientific high priests of the day spoke of its conception of the universe with contempt, the time when Tyndall

and Huxley and Romanes and Haeckel and others championed science and natural law as the highest religion for man. And we still feel the swell of the controversial storms which then swept over the world of religious thought. The panic has largely passed away. Some modifications and adjustments of opinion have taken place. Some additions have been made to our thought about the universe. But the pulpit is still with us, and its voice is heard in more places than ever before over the broad face of the earth, breathing the noblest inspiration into the lives of men.

The pulpit feels, in the first place, the influence of science in the engrossing attention which the latter receives in so many quarters, to the exclusion of any visible external attention to religion, and in the practical alliance of science with the worldly and materialistic spirit ; and the Church, remembering the bitterness of the conflict between herself and science, and the fear which for a time almost unnerved her heart, is still shy of that cultus as a handmaid, although the controversy has largely subsided, and she remains unshorn of her glory and office as the supreme benefactress of men. It is now for the pulpit to show that even science is not to remain a preserve and weapon of the world-materialistic spirit ; and that it is easily convertible into a valuable auxiliary and agency for gaining high Christian ends. Truth is one, and there must be a place and use for all truth in the service of Him whom the Church delights to crown "the Lord of all."

In the second place, the pulpit feels the influence of science in the modified conceptions of the world which are now freely disseminated, and as freely accepted, by large numbers of people, thoughtful and unthoughtful alike. These are facts which the pulpit cannot ignore. Newspapers, magazines, fiction, textbooks, schools, colleges are saturated with these conceptions of the world, conceptions which, true or false, glide easily enough and without shock into the minds of the young, but which for the old and middle-aged in this country verily change the whole frontiers of thought. What finely tempered courage, what delicacy of insight, what passion for souls, what wide intellectual and ethical discipline, what sense of the indwelling of God must he have who deals wisely with these things, or, wisely deals not with them ! But they are here with us and refuse to be suppressed. They have entered into the thought and character and life of this

generation, and the pulpit must reckon with them. In this same connection the question of Biblical criticism may be mentioned, for it also is a disturbing factor in the religious life of the present day, and the pulpit has to take note of it and separate "the precious from the vile." Like science it is floating in the intellectual and religious atmosphere we are breathing every day, and shutting our eyes to facts, welcome or unwelcome, will not abolish them. It is wiser to find for them a place and relation in the kingdom of the truth.

Another unfriendly circumstance with which the pulpit has to cope is the skeptical temper. This temper is sometimes born with men, and may exist quite independently of external stimulating causes. The form of it best known to the pulpit springs mainly from the worldly mind, from pride of intellect, from a frivolous disposition, from ugly moral rents in the character which the offender tries to conceal from himself by dropping into unbelief, and from some forms of the scientific and philosophical spirit. And it is met with in all classes. The temper of the few becomes the leaven of the many through personal contact, the platform, and current literature. "This underlying skepticism removes spiritual objects to an infinite distance, and leads to a concentration of the energies on other things, such as wealth, pleasure, art, or whatever desirable object is supposed to be within reach." The skeptical spirit and the worldly spirit, being kin, join forces and promote each other. Accordingly, much of the time formerly devoted to sowing and cultivating the seed must now be spent in removing rocks and thorns from the soil. Perhaps in no period has the skeptical temper manifested itself more freely or openly than it does now. True, it has not the gross, shameless quality of some past forms, but its intellectualism and refinement, its attractive literary and scientific dress, may only render it the more insidious and dangerous. This temper is, doubtless, the most formidable of all the forces which counteract the power of the pulpit, and more particularly, whenever it causes the utterance of the pulpit itself to be less positive, or less emphatic, or less eloquent. Looking at these hindrances and no farther, there are those who, though ever so well disposed, speak with gloomy apprehension of the power and future of a great and historic institution.

On the other hand are those, and they constitute an overwhelming majority, who believe that the pulpit's influence is not only more widely extended than ever before, but that its voice is as a rule more clear and emphatic; that it has never been more thorough, never more learned, never more intent on the union of doctrine and life. Comparing man with man, the preacher easily ranks in personal influence and worth with the strongest and most influential men of his community. And the stars of the pulpit are not eclipsed by the stars of any other profession. Their parish is the wide Christian world. But even should this contention remain unchallenged, the pulpit, in view of human conditions and needs present and to come, must not imagine that its method or power or influence has reached finality. Locally it must be kept fresh and resourceful, and ready for every new demand and emergency ; so also, and for similar reasons, must the Church at large.

In the first place, may one venture to ask whether our Universities and Theological Schools are adequately alive to the needs of the preacher ? More : are they adequately equipped to give him the training required by the necessities of the time ? I include the Universities because of the enormous influence they wield in the direction and quality they give to the culture and opinions of the Church students who pass through their disciplines before entering on their theological studies. In my judgment, the University which has the moulding of a young man's mind for four years or longer fosters and consolidates a mental and moral temper in him which two or three brief theological sessions will scarcely affect one way or another. Do the Universities and Theological Schools keep in view the fact that these young men are to be preachers, and arrange their whole course of study so as to bear on that one thing above all else ? In a school of Engineering, or Mining, or Surgery every part of the curriculum from matriculation to graduation contemplates the making of an engineering, or mining, or surgical expert. Theoretical work and practical work go hand in hand from start to finish. Such a course commends itself as eminently fitted to graduate proficient men. To be sure, in our Divinity Schools a few essays are written, and a homily, a lecture, and a popular sermon are delivered ; but it is safe to say few ministers ever venture to offer

any of them before a congregation when preaching for a "call". One does not forget the lectures on Homiletics and Elocution, but they are seldom known to fit organically into the rest of a preacher's education. Learning as a discipline or an accomplishment is one thing ; as an equipment for a great calling it is quite another. The preaching of the Gospel is, as the pulpit fondly believes, the greatest of all human vocations ; is the training for it, from the first appearance of the young candidate before his Presbytery, until he is ready for ordination and the pastoral office, a unity, and so designed and conducted as to make him a "workman approved unto God, and that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth"? Does the training aim to make preaching the most consummate and masterly of arts—the art of building up the Divine in man? "It is for that end and issue that we wed every form of human knowledge to the knowledge of God." How far are our colleges keeping these questions before them? How far the young men themselves? The matter is practically entirely in the hands of colleges and students, for the oversight of the Presbytery, one might add of the Church also, amounts to nothing. Are the Theological Schools keeping in close enough touch with the people to know how modern thought is affecting them, and what kind of training best meets the needs of the age? A Scottish Theological Professor says that "What we call public opinion should, according to all Protestant principles, have been Church opinion. When the Church comes to be regarded as a body standing apart from the nation in intelligence and culture, ground has been lost. And when the University is believed to be out of sympathy with, or not in full sympathy with the spirit of the times it has suffered in prestige." Another Professor of the old land says that "Academic Conventionism is the most impotent of tempers, and the most depressing of habits." It will be readily conceded that the University and Theological education for the pulpit is a matter of the first importance, for it is of little value if it cannot be converted into efficient preaching power. The Church needs scholars indeed, men of the most thorough and varied accomplishments and gifts, but above all, she needs preachers.

The question may also be asked, Are the preachers themselves fully alive to their own requirements? The "Learning of

the schools," and the intellectual and moral temper of our time can do much for them, but when all is done, they must, next to the Spirit of God, be their own best helpers. Let me recite a few well-worn truths, but still as good as gold.

The pulpit must be made more perfectly a *living personal* testimony to the truth. The truth of Scripture vitalized in the experience of the preacher is the testimony. Without this personal vitalization, not only of Scripture, but of all truth germane to the message, how can there be any living inspiration? And how can mind become subdued to mind without such living inspiration in them that teach? The man and his message must be one. The robe like the Master's must be seamless. It is to the glory of our calling that this closeness of bond between the man and his work exists nowhere else in the world. Says the poet :

"I venerate the man whose heart is warm,  
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life,  
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof  
That he is honest in the sacred cause.  
To such I render more than mere respect,  
Whose actions say that they respect themselves."

"His way of living—Oh! that is nothing to me; it is of his legal, or medical opinion I am thinking". So may one hear it spoken of lawyer or physician any day, but never of a minister by any self-respecting person. Even the ungodly are quick to mark and condemn incongruity between the sermon and the preacher's way of living. We need, therefore, more than ever a pulpit in which God's truth for men is not merely quoted or paraphrased, but, deeply personal and broad-based, is wrought into convincing utterance through the experience of the consecrated heart. There is the difficulty, there is the Church's weakness. For really to attain to that never has been easy. Least of all is it easy in an age so saturated with worldliness, and covert and open skepticism as our own.

Next, the pulpit must cultivate an instinct for discovering the real religious needs of men. Very good and eloquent men may not have this instinct. Why were the sermons of Chrysostom, and Bernard, and Luther, and Wesley, and Whitefield so powerful in their day, and why so uninteresting now? Because

they were so wonderfully adapted to their own day and are not at all adapted to ours. We must take into account the character of the age as well as the nature of the truth. Jesus always preached the *needed* truth as needed. His was a Divine tact. What labor and truth we waste, and what souls we lose for want of tact! The unadapted truth is music to the deaf. Yet the adaptation of truth to the audience is only the means not the end. The neglect or perversion of this rule is the degradation of the pulpit, opening the door for all sorts of fantastic tricks and expedients to attract a frivolous public attention, and stooping

"To conquer those by jocular exploits  
Whom truth and soberness assailed in vain."

To secure attention is most legitimate, but the use of unworthy methods defeats so good an aim, for if the truth is degraded how shall the people be exalted? An entertaining is not always an edifying sermon. The state of the hearer is the starting point; the divine life in Christ is the goal.

In truth, the difficulty which the pulpit encounters in this work of adaptation is very great. New situations and problems are constantly arising, and for a time, and without any fault of its own, the pulpit like other institutions under similar conditions is bewildered, and unable to find a point of contact. Friends of social and other reforms, but unacquainted with the usual lines of Christian work, often do not appreciate the complex, delicate task involved in this adjustment, and grow impatient and harsh in their judgments, and charge the pulpit with insincerity, or temporizing timidity, or self-interest—in all which they may be utterly wrong, forgetting how diverse the needs, the temperaments, the degrees of intelligence and culture it has to deal with. Moreover, many a preacher in the terrible flux and instability of opinion is sorely puzzled what to make of things for himself. At the same time, to meet the dogmatism of the worldly or socialistic or skeptical spirit with the dogmatism of academic theology will not long satisfy an intelligent community, and dull is the preacher who does not soon discover the fact. But unless he has as firm a grasp as any of the matter in hot dispute, he had better not meddle with it until the atmosphere clears and he sees his way. If, however, he has mastered it and got his feet upon the firm ground of reality, as far as may be,

in respect of God, and the world, and the Bible, and man, and salvation through a Redeemer, then how strong he is, and how quickly his hearers discover it, and give him their confidence, and imbibe his spirit.

The preacher must, in fact, be a theologian. Curiously enough, he may begin and continue his work for many a year with the slenderest possible knowledge of a practical theology, the science of applied Christianity. He ought, in the first place, to have a reasonably familiar acquaintance with the speculative and social questions which day by day are calling more urgently for solution. His theology must be such as can accept the responsibility of meeting them. He is the religious teacher of the community. Morality has its root in religion ; and these social and speculative questions touch morality and life at every point. The preacher must satisfy them, not with answers which were shaped to meet other and past conditions, evading his responsibility through fear or indolence, but with "new things from the treasury of God." He must deal with them, not from without, but on the basis of intelligent sympathy, as phenomena of that vaster social life in which we all share, and by which we are all moved ; for they present, in a word, the field on which the preacher can accept in the name and in the strength of his faith the challenge which is thrown down to him on many sides, and show that the facts of the Incarnation, the Passion, the Resurrection of Christ contain that which will meet the wants of the latest age. He will take his stand calmly and enthusiastically on Christ. This is his peculiar work as a Christian teacher. And it furnishes the correct theological view-point from which to regard the present.

Then, again, a theological view-point of the past is necessary, and should be as clear as light to every well-furnished preacher. He must adventure the future ; he ought to know the past. To understand the present, to plan for the future, he must be master of the past, and of the trend of its theology. Accordingly, he must survey the whole course of historical Christianity, and by earnest examination and reflection master its principle and method of development, and thus raise himself to perfect certainty of his faith, so that out of his own innermost conviction he may bring forth Christian truth for the

daily life of his congregation. He will then work among his people, not as a simple believer who preaches the opinions of his own individual faith and the views of his own Church, but as a Christian man whose faith rests upon a conviction nourished by facts as wide in their range as the Bible and the Christian Church. And by means of this knowledge of the work of the Divine Spirit down through all the vicissitudes of the Church's life, the preacher will be able to enrich his teaching, strengthen the faith of his hearers, promote their spiritual life, and safeguard them against the assaults of fear and sin. In a word : all knowledge and experience must be thrown into the melting pot of the preacher's own discipline and consecration, and out of it will come the concentrated and sanctified power that will speak to the conscience of man with authority in the name of the love and righteousness of the Heavenly Father, and of the brotherhood of man to man.

“The pulpit (in the sober use  
Of its legitimate, peculiar powers)  
Must stand acknowledged, while the world shall stand,  
The most important and effectual guard,  
Support, and ornament of virtue's cause.

There stands the messenger of truth ; there stands  
The legate of the skies !—his theme divine,  
His office sacred, his credentials clear.  
By him the violated law speaks out  
Its thunders ; and by him, in strains as sweet  
As angels use, the Gospel whispers peace.

He establishes the strong, restores the weak,  
Reclaims the wanderer, binds the broken heart,  
And, armed himself in panoply complete  
Of heavenly temper, furnishes with arms  
Bright as his own, and trains by every rule  
Of holy discipline to glorious war,  
The sacramental host of God's elect.”

M. MACGILLIVRAY.

## **GOVERNMENT BY ESTATES.**

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**T**HE idea of a constitutional government in which each class of society should, whenever it was fitted for the trust, be admitted to a share of the power and control, never appears to have suggested itself to the minds of the medieval politicians. Nevertheless this has been the end towards which the development of national life in Europe has constantly tended, though the steps towards it have not been taken to suit any preconceived theory, but have been taken rather to draw forth the energy of the united people in some great emergency, or to induce certain classes to grant contributions of money.

In spite of the varied circumstances and results we find that in each of the great European countries, it was in the thirteenth century that national assemblies composed of properly arranged and organised Estates were introduced or consolidated for the first time since the establishment of the feudal system of government.

What is an assembly of Estates ? It may be defined as "an organised collection, made by representation or otherwise, of the several orders, states or conditions of men, who are recognised as possessing political power." A national council of clergy and barons could not, then, be called an assembly of estates as it does not include the body of the people. On the other hand, a county court, though it did not have in England the powers possessed by the provincial estates on the continent, was in reality an exhaustive assembly of this character.

In all the European constitutions we find a similar division of the political factors into three estates, with, of course, some minor variations; this arrangement depends on a principle which appears to be almost universally accepted, namely the distinction between clergy and laity, the latter being subdivided according to the custom of the nation into noble and non-noble, patrician and plebeian, warriors and traders, landowners and craftsmen.

In England, it appeared likely at one time that the Scottish system would be adopted, namely, the division into lords, lay and clerical, the commissioners of the shire, and the burgesses ; at another the county and borough communities continued to assert

an essential difference, and ultimately the three estates of clergy, lords, and commons became the political constituents of the nation.

The name "commons" is hardly a suitable term to designate the third estate ; it does not denote primarily the simple freemen or plebs, but the plebs organised and united in corporate communities for particular purposes. The commons are the "communitates", the organised bodies of freemen of the shires and towns ; and the estate of the commons is the "communitas communitatum", the general body into which those communities are combined for parliamentary purposes. Hence the term, as applied to the class of men that is neither noble nor clerical, is taken from the political vocabulary, and does not indicate any primary distinction of class. Besides, the shire and borough communities are the collective organisations paying their taxes in common through the sheriffs or other magistrates, and are represented in common by elected knights or burgesses ; thus they are the represented freemen as opposed to the magnates, who live among them but receive a special summons to parliament ; they are the residue of the body politic, the common people, so called in a sense entirely different from the former. We must remember, however, that the term "communitas" has many different meanings in constitutional phraseology ; sometimes it is applied to the whole three estates, sometimes to the governing body of the nation, and sometimes to the body of representatives. As ordinarily used, then, the title of "commons" may claim more than one derivation, besides that which is supplied by history.

The commons are the third estate ; the question of precedence would scarcely arise between the barons and the clergy, but we find that, both in England and other countries, the latter have, through courtesy, been given first place : so that the order of the estates is clergy, lords and commons. The king has never been regarded as an estate of the realm, but as supreme, in theory if not in practice, the head, rather than a limb of the body politic.

In the witenagemote of the Anglo-Saxons we find a council composed of the wise men of the nation ; in the court of the Norman kings we find a similar assembly with a somewhat different qualification ; and in that of Henry II. we have a com-

plete feudal council of the king's tenants. In the thirteenth century the feudal council is turned into an assembly of estates, the constitution of the third estate being drawn from the ancient local machinery which it concentrates. But the process of the establishment of this system was a matter of growth, and hence we must inquire, first, how the two first estates became separated from each other, and, secondly, what were the steps by which the representative system was completed.

In the first or spiritual estate is included the whole body of the clergy, whether endowed with land or tithe, whether dignified or undignified, whether sharing or not sharing the privileges of baronage. In its spiritual character this estate possesses an internal cohesive principle, and the main question is to determine in what way the material bonds between it and the temporal estates were loosened so far as to give that cohesive principle its full liberty. This affects chiefly the prelates or ecclesiastical lords. Though during both the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods the ecclesiastical and temporal magnates were distinct both in character and functions, yet as counsellors it is very hard to distinguish the action of each. The ealdorman and sheriff never usurped the function of the bishop, nor did the bishop, as a spiritual man, lead an army into the field; if he ever did so, or acted as a secular judge, he did it as a landlord, and not as a bishop. In the court of the shire the ealdorman declared the secular law, and the bishop the spiritual. In the witenagemote, however, no definite line of this kind was drawn between lay and clerical advisers. Under the Norman sovereigns there was no division of the great council into bishops and barons, though when ecclesiastical questions were raised, the prelates frequently took advantage of their spiritual organisation, which they possessed in addition to their baronial status, to sit and deliberate by themselves. Even after the formal adoption of the system of taxation, as it was under Henry I. and Henry II., the bishops and abbots sat, as tenants-in-chief, with the barons to grant aids, took part in the judicial proceedings of the supreme court, and advised the king. Thus while there always existed a radical distinction between layman and clerk, yet in all constitutional action the spiritual character was sunk in the baronial, and the prelates and barons held their places by a common tenure, and as one body.

From the time of the conquest, however, causes had been in operation whose natural tendency was to force the clergy to realise their constitutional place, and to bring about a real union of the prelates with the inferior clergy. The first of these causes was the growth of conciliar action in the church under Lanfranc and Anselm. In the ecclesiastical synods which were established the clergy had a common field from which the barons were excluded, and a principle of union next only to that inherent in their common spiritual character. In the different synods of the nation, the province and the diocese, the clergy possessed a complete constitution ; the assemblies were composed not only of the prelates, but of the chapters, the archdeacons, and also the parochial clergy. Thus the clergy had an organisation which was in most respects the counterpart of the national system of court and council.

Another cause tending to produce unity among the clergy was the introduction and growth of canon law, the opening for which was made by the act of the conqueror forbidding the hearing of ecclesiastical causes in the popular courts. By this the clergy were removed from the jurisdiction of the common law, and thus a double system of judicature arose ; bishops, archdeacons, and rural deans had their courts of justice as well as their councils. Men were led to study this new system of law more closely through the persecution of Anselm, the weakness of Stephen and the controversy with Becket ; while the legislative abilities of the archbishops were scarcely equal to the task of following the footsteps of Alexander III. and Innocent III.

Thirdly, the struggles for clerical liberties and immunities, fought out under Henry I. and Henry II. had revealed to all men the growing differences of status. The frequent appeals to Rome, the action of legates, the increased number of questions that sprang up between the temporal and spiritual powers throughout christendom generally, all tended to impress a distinct mark on the clergy.

But it is in the point of taxation of property that the distinctive character of the clergy chiefly asserted itself. The taxable property of the clergy consisted either of land under the name of temporalities, or of tithes and offerings, known as spiritualities. So long as taxes were imposed only on the land there was no

hindrance to the bishops acting constitutionally with the barons, paying scutages for their military fiefs and carucages, and for their lands held by other tenure; but when the spiritual revenues began to be taxed, the clergy in general were touched in a point in which the laity had nothing in common with them. It roused a professional jealousy which was abundantly justified by later history. The constitutional action of the clergy was developed by the taxation of spirituals, just as that of the commons was developed by the taxation of moveables.

Up to the reign of Stephen there appears to have been very little difference between the King's treatment of the castles and estates of the bishops and of the barons. In the reign of Henry II. bishops and barons alike were required to give an account of the knights' fees held of them, and to pay accordingly. The ordinance of the Saladin tithe was perhaps the first occasion on which a regular tax was levied on revenue and moveables, and it is scarcely likely that the revenue of spirituals was exempted; but this tax was levied for an ecclesiastical purpose and was imposed by a larger council than was usually consulted. Again in the case of Richard's ransom no mention is made of the exemption of revenue of spirituals, but this was an exceptional case. In the carucage of 1198 no taxes were imposed on the freeholds of parish churches, and it is improbable that during the remainder of the administration of Hubert Walter any unusual demand was made upon the clergy.

Under John, however, there was a great increase in the demands upon the clergy. In the early part of his reign several demands were made of the result of which we have no account; but after the death of Archbishop Hubert this obscurity came to an end. On the 8th of January, 1207, the bishops were summoned by the king and asked to permit the beneficed clergy to pay a part of their revenues for the recovery of Normandy. No decision was given at the time, and the request was made again at Oxford on the 9th of February, but was unanimously refused, and the king was forced to content himself with a thirteenth of moveables and whatever voluntary gifts the clergy might grant individually. A short time after this a demand of pecuniary aid was made by Innocent III., but John forbade the granting of such aid. In 1219 a twentieth of church revenue was assigned for

three years to the crusade. In 1224 a carucage was granted by the prelates separately from the barons ; in 1225 when the nation generally paid a fifteenth, the clergy granted an additional sum from the property that did not contribute to that tax. In 1226 the beneficed clergy by request of the pope granted the king a sixteenth for his own necessities ; in 1229 Gregory IX. demanded a tenth for himself.

It was from such demands for grants from the spirituality that the custom arose of assembling the clergy in separate assemblies for secular business, a custom which has had a very great influence on the history of parliament. In 1231 the bishops objected to a scutage imposed without their consent ; in 1240 they rejected a demand of the legate because the inferior clergy were not represented. Public questions began to be discussed more frequently in ecclesiastical assemblies as these assemblies assumed a more definite constitution and consistency under oppression. The numerous petitions for the redress of grievances show the growing spirit of independence among the clergy, as well as the determination of the king and pope to crush it. By their action on such occasions the clergy gradually developed a distinct organisation as an estate of the realm, asserting and possessing deliberative, legislative, and taxing powers.

It is a more difficult matter to determine definitely the circumstances that drew the line between lords and commons and so defined the estate of the baronage. The result, however, is evident ; the great landowners, tenants-in-chief, or titled lords, who appeared in parliament in person, became separated by a broad line from the freeholders, who were represented by the knights of the shire. Legal authority fixes upon the reign of Edward III. as the period when this separation was completed, and recognises as the immediate cause of it the change in the character of qualification, from barony by tenure to barony by writ. This authority, however, settles the question of personal and family right rather than the intrinsic character of the baronage.

We might expect an hereditary baronage to be characterised by some distinction of blood, or by the extent and tenure of its lands, or by some definitions of law and custom, or by the possession of peculiar privileges bestowed by the sovereign, or by the coincidence of some or all of these.

The baronial estate in England differs from that of the continent in the absence of the idea of caste. Under the English system there is no legal recognition of nobility of blood as conveying political privilege. The English law recognises merely the right of peerage, not the privilege of nobility as properly understood. It recognises office, dignity, estate, and class, but not caste. The children and the kinsmen are given no privilege by the law which is not accorded to the ordinary freeman.

It is not, then, the nobility of blood that supplies the principle of cohesion, or separates the baronage from the other estates. We must next consider the question of land tenure. According to the feudal theory all the king's tenants-in-chief were members of his court and council, and since their estates were hereditary, their office of counsellor was also hereditary. In practice, however, the title and rights of baronage became gradually limited to the greater tenants who received special summons to the council and the host, and the baronage of the thirteenth century was composed of the body of tenants-in-chief who held a fief or a number of fiefs consolidated into a baronial honour or qualification. This qualification, however, was not created by the possession of a certain extent of territory, nor by the mere fact of tenancy-in-chief, which the barons shared with the knights and freeholders holding of the crown. It is probably impossible to decide whether the baronial honour or qualification was created by the terms of the original grant of the fief, or by subsequent recognition. About all that we can with certainty affirm is that, whatever the form in which the lands were acquired or bestowed, the special summons recognised the baronial character of the tenure, that is the estate was a barony which entitled its owner to such special summons.

But though the extent and nature of tenure of land may not provide an explanation of the origin of the distinction, they do furnish a clearer explanation than the theory of nobility, of the causes of the distinction of the baronage as an estate. During the twelfth century a great struggle was made by the feudatories for the possession of political power and jurisdiction. These attempts were frustrated by Henry I. and Henry II., but no attempt was made by these kings to limit the other parts of the feudal theory, on the contrary, it was in their reigns that many

of the innovations were introduced, which, by developing the land-laws, gave considerable impulse to the growth of the baronage as a separate class. The rule of succession by primogeniture was established in the reign of Henry II. It was also during the thirteenth century that the rule seems to have been at least partially established that the tenant must not alienate his land without the consent of his lord. The various acts passed during the thirteenth century for the purpose of restraining alienation, whether they were general or whether they affected only tenants-in-chief, no doubt tended to the concentration and settlement of great estates and so must have increased the distinction between greater and smaller landowners.

The character of barony is recognised rather than created by the definitions of the law; but the observance of the rule of proportionate payment of reliefs, the special provision that the baron must be amerced by his equals or before the royal council, and the rule that he must be tried only by his equals, undoubtedly served to mark out who those equals were, and so to give greater consistency to a body already restricted and beginning to realise its definite and common interest.

It was, however, by the royal action in summons, writ, and patent, that the baronage was finally created and defined as an estate of the realm. It was by special summons "propter nominibus" that Henry I., Henry II., and the barons of Runnymede, distinguished the greater from the smaller vassals of the crown. Thus the constitutional change which finally decided the character of peerage was the making of the status of the peers depend on the hereditary reception of the writ, rather than on the tenure which had been the original qualification for summons.

As early as the reign of Henry I. traces are to be found of a class of vassals who in addition to receiving special summons to council, had special summons to the host, and led their own dependents to battle. Under Henry III. and Edward I. the custom was either continued or introduced of summoning by special writ to the council a much smaller number of these "majores barones" than were specially summoned to perform military service. It is to this body of select hereditary barons, that the term "peers of the land" is properly applied. The year

1295 may be assigned as the date from which the baron, whose ancestor has been once summoned and has once sat in parliament, can claim an hereditary right to be so summoned. From this time, therefore, membership of the parliamentary baronage implies both tenure and summons. The political status of the body so constituted is thus defined by their successors: "The hereditary peers of the realm claim, (1) in conjunction with the lords spiritual, certain powers as the king's permanent council when not assembled in parliament, (2) other powers as lords of parliament when assembled in parliament and acting in a judicial capacity, and (3) certain other powers when assembled in parliament together with the commons of the realm appearing by their representatives in parliament, the whole now forming under the king the legislature of the country."

We must next consider the formation of the third estate or House of Commons. This body was formed by the union of the knights of the shire with the representatives of the boroughs.

The first authentic evidence we have of the presence of representative knights of the shire in parliament is in the year 1254, at which date the royal writs direct the selection and attendance in parliament of two knights from each shire. Again in 1265, Simon de Montfort called together in Henry's name a national council, to which were summoned (1) a small number of barons, (2) a large number of the higher clergy, (3) two knights from each shire, (4) two burghers or citizens from every town. Here we find the first instance of the summoning of the second branch of the commons, the representatives of the towns. By this act Earl Simon set the example of giving the people at large a fuller share in the government than they had hitherto enjoyed. De Montfort, however, may not have been actuated by the highest motives in taking this step. During the war he had got his greatest support from the towns and so might expect likewise to secure from them representatives favorable to his government. His parliament was therefore not so much representative of the nation as of his followers in the nation.

This scheme of representation introduced by De Montfort was adopted by Edward I. in 1295, so that this last date may be accepted as fixing finally the right of shire and town representation. This parliament differed from all that had preceded it, and

was a model which has been followed substantially ever since.

Gradually the knights of the shire and the representatives of the towns began to draw together, and in the reign of Edward III we find them uniting and sitting apart from the Lords as a distinct House of Commons, though at first they did not claim an equal power with the Lords, but acted rather as humble petitioners for redress of grievances.

The causes that led to this separation of the knights of the shire from the barons and their union with the burghers are of two kinds: (1) negative, those which tended to separate them from the barons; (2) positive, those that tended to unite them with the burgesses.

That part of the third estate represented by the knights of the shire contained not only the rest of the tenants-in-chief, not included among the barons, but all the freeholders of the county, and hence the elected knights were the representatives of all who met in the county courts. In practice the selection of representatives would depend on the chief landowners, whether they held of the king-in-chief or of a mesne lord. In theory their bond of union lay in their common membership of a particular shiremoot; but as a political body they had class interests and affinities, and we might naturally expect their sympathies to be with the barons.

We find, however, that from the time when the Conqueror exacted the oath of fealty from all landowners, that the kings seem to have depended on the provincial knights and freeholders for help against the great feudatories. The tyranny of the great barons would fall first on their own vassals; while the smaller landowners would lie in a position to be coveted by their greater neighbours. Hence the two classes would be drawn together by common dangers. These sympathies were turned into a feeling of real unity by the efforts made by the kings, especially by Edward I. to eliminate the political importance of tenure. The obligation to receive knighthood, imposed on all who owned enough land to furnish knightly equipment, the common service in war, and the attempt to compel foreign service, all helped to draw the two classes together. The abolition of subinfeudation in 1290 increased the number of minor tenants-in-chief and tended to diminish the difference between the two classes.

Besides being drawn together by common dangers and by

the royal policy both classes of freeholders had another bond of union in the work of the county court.

In addition to these causes their presence in the national council as representatives would tend to separate them from the barons and to draw them to the representatives of the towns.

There were also various social influences that operated to bring the townsmen closer to the freeholders. The younger sons of the country knight would seek wife, occupation or estate, in the towns. The small landowner and the tradesman met on similar terms and were drawn together by both local and political sympathies. Such were some of the chief influences that led to the union of the knights of the shire with the burghers, to form the third estate of the realm, the House of Commons. The third estate as it is constituted in England differs from the same estate in other countries of Europe in that it includes the landowners below baronial rank. In most of the other systems it contains only the representatives of the towns or chartered communities. It was this shire system which constituted the strength of the third estate in England. In the knights of the shire lay a concentration of the powers of the county courts. They formed a body which not only helped to link the baronage with the burghers, but which the crown could not diminish at will as it could the number of barons or of the representatives of the towns. These knights were also men who generally exhibited a spirit of independence, and who could not be crushed as was the Spanish cortes by Charles V. and Philip II. Their rights were not rooted in royal privilege which the giver might take away, but in the most primitive institutions and in those local associations which are practically indelible.

Such were the divisions of the three estates of the realm, but there were many subordinate distinctions, cross divisions, and a large residue which lay outside of the political body. But though the classification is not an exact or an exhaustive division of all sorts and conditions of men, yet it presents a rough summary of the political constituents of the kingdom, and it was the arrangement on which the theory of the medieval constitution was based.

Before going on to examine the powers of the body thus composed, it may be well to inquire who were the electors of the

representative members. On any just theory of representation, the elected members should represent those who had not the right to appear personally in the assembly, and they should be elected by the persons they represent. The knights of the shire were the representatives of the community of the shire which was represented by the county court. While there is considerable variation of opinion on the subject, the general conclusion seems to be that the right of electing knights of the shire belonged to the whole body of suitors at the county court. It is, of course, quite probable that this theory may not have been put in practice, as no doubt many of the tenants-in-chief possessed a great deal of influence in the county courts and used it to sway the election of representatives. It is a matter of greater uncertainty who were the electors of the borough members. From what records we have it would appear either that the members were nominated in the borough assembly, or that delegates were appointed in that assembly to elect them, and a return thereon made to the sheriff before the election took place in the county court.

We must next consider the question to what extent and by what degrees the new elements of parliament were admitted to an equal share with the older elements in the powers which were already secured or asserted, and to what extent and by what steps the commons were placed on a constitutional level with the other two estates.

Before the end of John's reign the following rights had been secured by the great council of the nation : (1) With regard to taxation they had secured the concession that no tax except the three feudal aids should be levied without their consent given in an assembly duly convoked. They had also been consulted as to the manner of assessment and had given advice and consent to the way in which the taxes were to be collected. (2) In legislation their rights to advise and consent had been formally recognised and they had exercised a power of introducing amendments of the law by means of petitions. (3) In judicature they had exercised the right of accepting and ratifying the judgments of the king against high offenders. (4) As a supreme deliberative council they had been consulted on questions of foreign policy, of internal police and national defence, and by a series of acts of election, acknowledgment, and acceptance of

the kings at their accession ; they had also secured a recognition of their right to regulate the succession.

During the minority of Henry III. these rights were fully maintained, and in some respects enlarged. In taxation they had several times refused grants demanded by the king, and when they did grant money they carefully prescribed the manner of assessment and collection. In legislation they had not only taken the initiative by petitions but had refused their consent to changes in the law, in words which were accepted as the statement of a constitutional fact. Though their judicial power was lessened in practice by the strengthened organisation of the royal courts, it remained in full force with respect to high offenders, and causes between great men. In their general political power there was a great increase ; they had determined the foreign policy of the crown ; had not only dismissed the king's minister but had placed the royal power itself in commission, and had drawn up a new constitution for the nation, and imposed new oaths on the king and his heir.

Other claims besides these were also made by parliament, one of the chief being the principle that grants of money should depend on the redress of grievances, and that parliament should determine to what special purpose the supplies should be appropriated, a claim which was admitted by the royal advisers. The right to control the action of the king by a resident elective council was also asserted ; but, though Henry was compelled to accept these terms, he refused to admit them as a matter of right, and they were finally rejected with the full consent of the nation.

In the early part of the reign of Edward I. all the privileges that had been used or gained under Henry III. were fully exercised. In the later part of the reign additional rights were acquired by the constitutional organisation. But there were two drawbacks which materially affected the value of the rights of parliament ; (1) the king's prerogative, (2) the right of the individual.

Though the national council had acquired the right to be consulted on all four points of administrative policy, yet it had not secured the exclusive right to determine that policy. Taxes might be granted by parliament, but the king could claim the

usual aids without consulting parliament, could increase the customs by separate negotiations with merchants, and could at any time secure money by bargains with private individuals. The laws were issued with the advice and consent of parliament, but legal enactments, such as assizes or ordinances, might still be issued without such consent. The king's court, or *curia regis*, might be used to defeat the right of the barons to be judged by their peers. And the political action of the crown could be determined, both in foreign and domestic matters, without reference to anything but the royal will.

The second difficulty that arose was regarding the rights of individuals to consent to, or dissent from, measures that were enacted; such as taxes imposed by the national council. Of course the refusal of an individual baron could easily be overcome by force; the claim of a particular community to refuse a tax to which its own representatives had not assented might be overcome in the same way. The refusal of an estate of the realm to submit to taxation to which it had not consented was a different matter, and such a refusal was made by the clergy in 1254.

For a long time the practice had been to take the consent of the communities by special commissions. In the year 1295 these special commissions cease and the communities appear by their representatives to join in the act of the sovereign body. Henceforth the three estates, through making their grants in different measure and by separate vote, were fully represented, and acted in taxation, as in other matters, as a consolidated parliament. The right of regulating taxation was not limited to direct grants of money, but extended also to the regulation of the customs. In 1297 the king, in confirming the charters, recognised the exclusive right of parliament to authorise taxation. Thus the right of the commons to a share in the taxing power of parliament was admitted.

It was in a somewhat different way that the right of the three estates to share in legislation was established. The consent of individuals was of much less importance in the enacting of a law than in the levying of a tax. The tax was granted by the nation, while the law was enacted by the king. The tax might be consented to by the nation in different ways, by estates,

by communities, by individuals or corporately in parliament. But the law was enacted once for all by the king with the counsel and consent of parliament ; and it was no longer in the power of the individual, the community, or the estate to withhold its obedience with impunity. While it is possible that in early times it has been customary for legislation to receive the assent of the people in local assemblies, at the same time we are forced to conclude that legislation properly belonged to the king's council. In the twelfth century that council consisted of only the magnates, but by the end of the thirteenth it contained also the inferior clergy and the commons. The latter, while being regarded as fully competent to discuss a tax, were not regarded as equally competent to frame a law. Still the right of the nation to determine by what laws it should be governed was not disputed. It had been admitted by Canute and the Conqueror, and it had been practically admitted in the promulgation of the Great Charter and the Provisions of Oxford in the county courts. The enactment of Edward II. in 1322, that matters to be established touching the estate of the king and his heirs, the realm and the people, shall be treated, accorded and established in parliaments by the king and by the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm, is but an amplification of the principle laid down by his father in 1295.

It is to be noticed, however, that the legislation of Henry III. and most of that of Edward I. was enacted in assemblies to which the commons were not summoned. While Edward found himself compelled to secure the co-operation of the commons with the other two estates in matters of taxation, yet his legislative work was carried on without the co-operation of the commons until they had enforced their right to be heard. And though in the later part of the reign of Edward I. the right of the commons to share in legislation was recognized, yet they were not placed on an equality with the other estates, and it was a long time before they were allowed more than the right of petition or request. We may say, however, that, on the whole, the functions of the three estates in legislation were very imperfectly defined.

In the judicial power of parliament the commons had no share, and it is worthy of note that the estate which retained the

judicial power of the national council, also retained the special right of advice and consent in legislation, these rights being a survival of the time when the magnates were the whole parliament.

Regarding the functions of parliament in deliberating on points of general policy and the right of the commons to share in the discussion of foreign affairs or internal administration little is known. It is certain that the right of such deliberation was exercised by the great men before the time of the Great Charter, and the evidence goes to show that they retained the right. The principle asserted by Edward I. in 1295 would appear to relate to this power of the national council even more directly than to taxation or legislation, but, in practice, as had often been done before, silence was construed as assent from the absent as well as the present.

JAMES KEILLOR.

## HOW PLANTS USE ANIMALS.

### A CHAPTER IN ECOLOGY.\*

THE progress of botanical research and discovery, during the present generation, has necessitated the establishment of new departments in the scientific study of plants. In our early years a knowledge of their morphology was considered the sole object of botanic investigation. The time and attention of professors and students alike were devoted to the careful examination of the forms and arrangements of the different parts or members of phanerogamous plants, that they might acquire the knowledge necessary to detect and name the species that came under their notice. Between 1870 and 1880 the study of vegetable physiology was gradually introduced into the Universities of America from Germany, where it had made great advances during the preceding decade. Improvements in the microscope, the discovery of new methods in chemical analyses, and the invention of suitable apparatus for histological and physiological

\*In lexicons this word is spelled *Ecology*, but writers generally drop the O.

work, have enabled the student to enter upon new fields of discovery undreamt of in the speculations of the older botanists. Well-equipped laboratories, with a rich display of working facilities for the prosecution of original research, have taken the place of the table beside the window, where the student sat down with his handful of plants, his text-book and a pocket lens, to work out the scientific names of his specimens—an achievement by which he was believed to have reached the extreme boundary of botanic knowledge. Laboratory work has now become almost universal.

The introduction of the study of cryptogams into college courses has opened up an almost unlimited territory, where rich mines of knowledge exist, to reward the patient toil of the adventurous discoverer. With the enlargement of the area of study has come an increase in the number of subjects demanding attention, thus rendering specialization an absolute necessity. We may mourn the departure of the days when a naturalist was expected to teach geology, zoology and botany, but we cannot resist the inevitable.

The progress of phanerogamic botany is marked by the establishment of the departments of histology, anatomy, comparative morphology, physiology and pathology, each of which now claims its specialists.\* Similar success has attended the study of the lower plants, and important fields for research have been opened up among the algae and fungi which affect so extensively the agricultural and manufacturing interests of every civilized country. The various rusts and smuts and mildews that injure our crops and lessen our harvests—the bacteria that sour our milk, or give taste and odor to our butter and cheese, or bring fevers and other diseases to our homes and domestic animals—the different species of plants which cause fermentation and effect the raising of bread and the production of beers, wines, etc., are all demanding further investigation. "Already the establishment of bacteriological laboratories and a huge special literature—of zymo-technical laboratories and courses on the study of yeasts and mould-fungi—of agricultural stations, forestry and dairy schools, and so on—all these are signs of the

\*See address of H. Marshall Ward, President of Botanic Section, British Association, Toronto, 1897.

inexorable results of progress." The development of industries like brewing, dyeing, forestry, agriculture, is making special demands on botany; "the progress of bacteriology, palaeontology, pathology, economic and geographical botany" is continually asking special questions and demanding answers.

The recent progress in the study of the physiological functions of plants has led to the division of physiology into two general departments, (1) physiology proper, (2) ecology. The first of these deals with the various forces and phenomena which constitute the life of the plant, that is, the different functions of its organs, such as the function of nutrition or of reproduction, and the manner in which they are distributed among the various members and tissues. In the higher classes of plants "each member of each tissue is adapted to the performance of one or more functions and is the organ by which its special kinds of physiological work are done". (Vines.)

The second (ecology) treats of the adaptation of the plant to its environment, in other words, the relations of the plant to the natural forces and the living beings of the world around it which exercise any influence upon the performance of its functions. For example, the activity of the assimilatory function of green leaves is altogether dependent upon exposure to light of adequate intensity and to a suitable temperature. (Vines.) In the case of plants with highly colored flowers fertilization can only be secured by the visits of insects.

Passing over the relations of plants to climate, soil, and the presence of neighbors of friendly or unfriendly character, we will confine our attention altogether to one phase of their adaptations to animals. The special subject we have in view is:—

#### HOW PLANTS USE ANIMALS FOR NUTRITIVE PURPOSES.

Nitrogen enters into the composition of proteid substances and is consequently a necessary element of plant-food. Experiments have proved that it is derived, not from the nitrogen of the air, but from compounds of ammonia and nitrates which are widely distributed in nature, and are furnished to the plant dissolved in the soil-water. Plants, with few exceptions, have no power to assimilate the free nitrogen of the atmosphere, and soon perish if the soil in which they grow contains no nitrogen

compounds. When growing in positions where the necessary nitrogen cannot be obtained they are compelled to resort to other sources of supply. Some secure abundance for their needs from the bodies of animals which they entrap in various ways, and as the greater number of these are insects the plants have been called insectivorous plants.

About 460 plants are known which are more or less dependent upon this source for their nitrogen, and are consequently provided with traps, pitfalls and other contrivances for capturing their prey. They belong to different families or orders of both terrestrial and aquatic forms, and are furnished with widely different devices for securing the animals required for food.

ORDER I.—Among these insectivorous plants the most conspicuous belong to the order Sarraceniaceae, which embraces eight species, distributed between three genera, inhabiting North America and British Guiana.

i. The best known of these are :

The six species of pitcher plants (*Sarracenia*), of which one (*S. purpurea*) is common in Canada, and the other five in the Southern States. They abound in mossy bogs, and along the borders of lakes. They are perennial plants, with stems from a foot to eighteen inches in height, terminated by a single, large, nodding flower, of a deep purple or sometimes greenish-purple colour. The large leaves are arranged in a rosette around the base of the stem, and are eight to ten inches in length, hollow or trumpet-shaped, ascending, curved, broadly winged along one side from the base to the mouth of the pitcher, and terminating in a rounded, arched hood at the apex. The wing is bordered or edged by a purplish cord, which also runs around the mouth. An abundance of purple veins contributes to the beauty of the colouring. The pitcher is partly filled with water and drowned insects. The hood is ornamented with brilliant colours and clothed on its inner surface with stiff, polished bristles pointing downwards. Within, the surface of the tube is exceedingly smooth, rendering it impossible for an insect to crawl out after it has entered. The thickened smooth lip, surrounding the mouth, is rendered attractive by a sweet secretion which lures both winged and crawling insects to enter. In the southern species, the wing also secretes nectar along its whole length, and presents

an irresistible attraction to ants and other wingless creatures. Mrs. Mary Treat informs us that she "noticed on some of the plants a line of small ants, extending from the base of the leaf to the summit, feeding on the secretion; so numerous were they that they crowded one another, but all steadily advancing to the opening, down which they disappeared."\* She describes in graphic language the "very friendly and fraternal" manner in which they meet and pass each other, going to or returning from their feeding grounds on other plants. But "mark the difference when the ants are feeding on the sweet secretion of *Sarracenia variolaris*; now they crowd and jostle one another, and seem wild in their movements, and all are advancing in one line towards the summit of the leaf, on reaching which they disappear down the wide throat of the insatiable *Sarracenia*. No return line here." On one occasion she placed a number of leaves in vases of water, in her study, to keep them fresh, and opened the windows to admit the insects swarming in the warm air outside. When a sufficient number had entered she closed the screens to the windows and watched the results. The flies were soon attracted to the plants, and as soon as they tasted the secretion, they began to act strangely as if intoxicated. If she touched one, it would fly a short distance and return immediately, and would soon be "buzzing inside of the tube, trying to walk up the dry, smooth surface, and ever falling back, until it was exhausted and still." If a leaf was taken from the vase, turned mouth down, and the flies shaken out, they soon returned again. "They would pass their legs over their wings, but they were unsteady on their feet, and seemed to be intoxicated. Every fly I liberated eventually returned to the open mouth and walked in, as if fascinated by some spell."

The room was soon "cleared of flies—all lured into the fatal traps." The windows were re-opened and a new swarm admitted, among which were two or three yellow-jackets—wasp insects. One of them soon lighted upon a leaf, tasted the sweet secretion on the edge of the wing, and proceeded hurriedly and wildly along the line of sweets until it reached the opening..... In a little more than a minute from the time it alighted it was a safe prisoner within, buzzing and fluttering and stirring up the

\**Home Studies in Nature*, by Mary Treat, p. 189.

imprisoned flies. It made frantic efforts to escape—tried to climb the smooth surface, ever falling back till exhausted and powerless to move. The experiments were repeated day after day for two months, both in the field and in the house, with the same results. Insects of every order were entrapped and their bodies digested by the plants. Pieces of raw beef were substituted for insects and were readily absorbed by the digestive organs.

2. The *Darlingtonia* of California, and (3) the *Heliamphora* of British Guiana, also bear pitchers partly filled with water, which entrap insects and absorb their juices.

ORDER II.—A second family of insectivorous plants is that of the Nepenthaceae which is represented by the single genus *Nepenthes*, containing about forty-five species. They occur principally in the Malay Archipelago, but extend to Ceylon, Australia, the Seychells and Madagascar. Most of them are climbing shrubs growing in swampy soil. Their leaves have foliaceous petioles which form, at their extremities, pitchers surmounted by a hinged lid. Inside the pitchers is secreted a watery, slightly acid fluid, partly filling the cavities. Upon the lips of the pitchers, as in the case of the *Sarracenia*, is produced a sweetish substance exceedingly attractive to winged insects which, falling into the fluid within, are soon dissolved by it, and their substance absorbed by the plant for its nourishment. Dr. Hooker found that although the fluid within the pitcher of *Nepenthes* possesses extraordinary power of digestion, yet when removed from the pitchers, before they have been excited, and placed in a vessel, it has no such power, although it is already acid. Darwin accounts for this fact by the supposition that the proper ferment is not secreted until some exciting matter is absorbed.\*

ORDER III.—The Droseraceae is a large family of very remarkable plants, distributed throughout the world, and frequently abounding in bogs and marshy localities. It embraces six genera and about one hundred and ten species, one hundred of these belonging to a single genus, *Drosera*. Owing to its adaptation for entrapping insects, the family has attracted a

\*Darwin, *Insectivorous Plants*, p. 97.

large share of attention, and several of its members have been subjected to numberless experiments.

1. In some respects the most wonderful species is the Venus' fly-trap (*Dionaea muscipula*), so named from the extreme irritability of its leaves, which quickly close like a steel-trap at the slightest touch. It is a native of the eastern part of North Carolina, where it flourishes in sandy bogs along rivers from the Neuse to the Santee. It adheres to the soil by one or two small roots, terminated by bulbous enlargements, which probably serve for the absorption of water. In conservatories it is often cultivated in a pot of bog material placed in a pan of water, proving that it is not dependent upon the soil for its food. The stem is from six to twelve inches high, and bears an umbel of eight to ten white flowers. Its leaves are all radical, forming a rosette, the blades are roundish and two-lobed, their margins fringed with long, sharp, rigid spines. The upper surface of each leaf has three minute pointed filaments standing erect and forming a triangle on each side of the midrib. They are extremely sensitive and when touched by an insect the leaf suddenly closes on it.

The marginal spines are so placed that when the lobes close they interlock like the teeth of a rat-trap. The upper surface of the leaf is covered with small reddish glands, the remainder of it is colored green. The sensitive filaments are about one-twentieth of an inch long and taper to a point. A peculiarly formed articulation at the base unites them to the leaf and permits them to lie flat down when the lobes close together. Their extreme sensitivity excites the astonishment of experimenters. Darwin fixed a piece of very delicate human hair into a handle, and cut it off so that one inch projected; the length being sufficient to support itself in a nearly horizontal line. The extremity was then brought by a slow movement laterally into contact with the tip of a filament, and the leaf instantly closed.\* Though so sensitive to touch they are utterly indifferent to heavy showers of rain and gales of wind. "We thus see," says Darwin, "that the sensitiveness of the filaments is of a specialized nature, being related to a momentary touch rather than to prolonged pressure; a touch must not be from fluids, such as air or water, but from some solid object."

\*Darwin, *Insectivorous Plants*, p. 289.

The surface of the blade is very slightly sensitive, and bits of stone, glass, and other inorganic substances—also bits of organic substances not containing soluble nitrogenous matter, such as wood, cork, moss—or bodies containing soluble nitrogenous matter, if perfectly dry, as meat, gelatine, albumen, may be placed on the lobes and left for hours without producing any perceptible effect. If the nitrogenous bodies are slightly moistened, the lobes close over them with a slow and gradual motion, very different from that produced by touching filament.

The upper surface of the lobes is thickly covered with small, sessile glands, capable of secretion and absorption. When a bit of meat or an insect is enclosed, these glands pour out a copious secretion, which is almost colourless, slightly mucilaginous and acid. Sometimes the secretion is so abundant that if a leaf be cut open, drops will roll off it. That it is possessed of digestive powers, like the gastric juice of animals, has been proved by many experiments, for the details of which the reader is referred to Darwin's interesting volume.

After enclosing an insect, or any nitrogen-yielding substance, the leaves do not open for many days, and after opening, frequently become torpid and wither. Vigorous leaves, however, will seize their prey more than once. Mrs. Treat informs us that among her plants "a considerable number of leaves took the third fly, but most of them were not able to wholly digest them. Five leaves digested three flies each, and opened apparently healthy, and were soon ready for another meal, but died soon after closing over the fourth fly. On the other hand, some leaves were not able to digest a single fly."\* They did not restrict their diet to flies, but readily partook of bugs, beetles, spiders, millepedes, or other insects which were unfortunate enough to visit them. The average time required to digest soft-bodied insects, such as spiders, flies, and small larvae, was seven days, but hard-shelled bugs and beetles took fourteen days, on account of the resistance furnished to the digestive secretion by their shelly covering.

2. Another plant of this insectivorous family is the *Aldrovanda vesiculosa*, which is distributed, in some of its varieties, in Europe, India and Australia. It is a rootless, little plant, float-

\**Home Studies in Nature*, p. 185.

ing freely in water. Its stem is about three inches in height, and is ornamented in the flowering season with a few small white flowers. The leaves are arranged in whorls about the stems, and, as in the case of *Dionaea*, are composed of two lobes united by a strong midrib. The lobes are folded up from the midrib so as to resemble a small clam-shell nearly closed. This position gives it a great advantage when it requires to close suddenly. From the inner surface of the lobes, and especially from the midrib, project numerous, long, finely pointed hairs, extremely sensitive to the touch. When irritated by any minute swimming creature, the lobes close suddenly and sharply, rendering escape impossible. A fluid is secreted from certain glands, which is said to dissolve and digest the nitrogenous materials contained in the bodies of the captured larvae or crustaceans. Several interesting arrangements for the capture of prey, and the absorption and assimilation of the portions suitable for food, can only be explained by the use of figures, but enough has been said to show that aquatic as well as land animals have vegetable foes which lie in wait for them and lure them to destruction.

3. The Cape of Good Hope furnishes another genus (*Roridula*) of these carnivorous plants, which embraces two species. These (*R. dentata* and *R. gorgonias*) have somewhat woody stems and branches. The leaves are long and narrow, tapering to a long point, and are concave on both the upper and lower surfaces. They are densely covered with tentacles, which differ greatly in length. The glands also vary much in size, and are supported by pedicels. In their native condition they secrete abundantly a viscid substance which adheres to insects and prevents their escape. When examined the leaves are often found to be covered with the remains of the captives.

4. A fourth genus (*Byblis*), containing three or four species, occurs in Western Australia. Its leaves resemble those of the preceding genus, being several inches in length, acuminate and somewhat flattened. Numerous glands cover the surface and the apex, which terminates in a small knob. The bodies of insects adhering to the glands show their use.

5. The best known, as well as the largest genus of insect-destroying plants is the Sundew (*Drosera*), which embraces fully one hundred species, scattered over the whole globe where-

ever marshes are found. Six species occur between Hudson Bay and Florida, of which four—*Drosera rotundifolia*, *D. Anglica*, *D. intermedia Americana* and *D. linearis*—are abundant in Canada. The most common species is *D. rotundifolia*, L. which inhabits the peat bogs and marshes, from Newfoundland, Labrador and Nova Scotia westward to the Pacific and north to and beyond the Arctic circle.\*

As this is the species to which Darwin has devoted 277 pages of his interesting work on insectivorous plants, in which the reader can obtain a remarkable amount of information respecting its movements and digestive powers, a brief description will be sufficient here. It is a small herbaceous plant, five to eight inches high, growing generally (not always) in sphagnous bogs where its roots cannot reach the barren soil below; the mosses themselves depend upon the atmosphere and the rains for their nourishment. Its roots are few and small and seem only to absorb water. The leaves are reddish, and form a cluster around the base of the scape; they are nearly orbicular in form and taper abruptly into the petiole. In their young condition, they are rolled up from the apex to the base. Their whole upper surface is beset with glandular hairs or tentacles, which are usually tipped with a small drop of a viscid secretion, glistening like dew in the sunshine, whence it receives its name. The slender, naked scape bears the small, white flowers "in a one-sided, raceme-like inflorescence, which nods at the undeveloped apex, so that the fresh-blown flower, which opens only in the sunshine, is always highest." (*Gray's Manual*.)

Darwin counted the number of glandular hairs, or tentacles, on thirty-one leaves and found the average number was 192; the greatest number being 260, and the least 160. Those on the central part of the leaf or disc are short and stand erect; those on the extreme margin project on the same plane as the leaf, or are more commonly reflexed. When an insect, or any small object, comes in contact with the central tentacles, a motor impulse is transmitted to those around them and is gradually propagated to those placed on the margin. The nearer ones, being first affected, begin to bend toward the centre—then those farther off, until all become closely inflected over the object. A

\*Macoun, *Catalogue of Canadian Plants*.

living insect is much more effective in producing movement than a dead one, as its struggles bring it into contact with a greater number of tentacles. The length of time required for complete inflection varies from one to four or five hours, according to the age and vigour of the leaf, the nature and size of the object, and the temperature of the atmosphere. The inflection takes place equally by day and night. An insect, as a fly, with thin integuments, causes a longer inflection than an insect, like a beetle, with a thick covering. Strongly inciting substances, as drops of milk, produce also an incurvation of the leaf, so that it resembles a shallow cup. When tentacles, remote from an object caught on the centre of the leaf, have become considerably deflected towards it, they pour out an increased amount of secretion, which soon changes its nature and becomes acid. Like the gastric juice of the higher animals, the secretion possesses an antiseptic power. If a small piece of meat be placed on the tentacles, and another be enclosed in the moss beside it, the former will remain fresh and untainted long after the latter has become putrid and filled with infusoria. When the juices of the insect, or other object covered by the secretion, have been digested and absorbed, the tentacles gradually unbend and assume their natural position, awaiting the arrival of new and heedless visitors.

The extreme sensitiveness of the tentacles is worthy of notice. "It is an extraordinary fact," says Darwin, "that a little bit of soft thread,  $\frac{1}{50}$  of an inch in length, and weighing  $\frac{1}{157}$  of a grain, or of a human hair,  $\frac{1}{1000}$  of an inch in length and weighing only  $\frac{1}{78740}$  of a grain (.000822 milligramme), or particles of precipitated chalk, after resting for a short time on a gland, should induce some change in its cells, exciting them to transmit a motor impulse throughout the whole length of the pedicel, consisting of about twenty cells, to near its base, causing this part to bend and the tentacle to sweep through an angle of above  $180^\circ$ ." He proved by experiment that far less than the millionth of a grain of phosphate of ammonia in solution, when absorbed by a gland, acts on it and induces movement.

The number of insects allured to destruction by the untold millions of these living traps distributed over the globe is perfectly inconceivable. And when we remember that one hundred

different species of this single genus of plants are continually lying in wait for the unwary insect, the results may well excite our astonishment.\*

6. The only remaining genus of this family (*Droseraceae*) is *Drosophyllum*, represented by the single species *D. Lusitanicum*, a native of Spain, Portugal and Morocco. In the neighborhood of Oporto, where it abounds, it bears the name of "Fly-catcher", and is hung up in dwellings to rid them of flies. The roots are very small, as in the case of *Drosera*, showing that it is not dependent upon food derived from the soil. The leaves are long and linear, gradually tapering to the apex. "The upper surface is concave, the lower convex, with a narrow channel down the middle. Both surfaces, with the exception of the channel, are covered with long, irregular rows of glands, supported on pedicels of different lengths." The glands vary much in size and are conspicuous by their bright pink or purple color. Unlike those of *Drosera* they are incapable of movement, but resemble them by producing large drops of a viscid secretion in which insects become entangled. The drops adhere to the wings, feet, or body of the unfortunate visitor, and are drawn from the gland. It then crawls onwards and other drops adhere to it, till at length it is overwhelmed by the accumulating mass and sinks down under the burden to rise no more. The work of digestion and absorption begins immediately, and soon nothing remains but the wings and indigestible integuments of the body.†

ORDER IV.—The plant *Cephalotus follicularis* is regarded by some botanists as the sole representative of the family *Cephalotaceae*, but the majority describe it as an abnormal member of the *Saxifragaceae*. It is a perennial plant growing in wet marshes, and, so far as known, is confined in its distribution to King George's Sound in Western Australia. The leafless scape is from one to two feet high, and bears a narrow panicle of small white flowers. The leaves are all radicle and arranged in a rosette. They are from one-half to one inch in length, obovate-oblong in form, with entire margins and obtuse apex, and narrowing into a petiole often as long as the blade. Some of them

\*According to recent experiments it is deemed probable that the insect-digesting ferment is secreted by bacteria which lie upon the plant.—*Minnesota Bot. Studies*, Vol. I, p. 942.

†Darwin, *Insectivorous Insects*, p. 332.

are converted into ovoid or nearly globular pitchers of about one inch in diameter. The mouth of the pitcher is bordered by a plaited ring and the ovate lid is attached to the side next the leaf-stock.\* Very little accessible information exists as to the plant's mode of procedure in attracting and trapping insects, but the very structure of the pitcher, the position of the lid and the peculiar border around the mouth, are sufficient proof that they are designed to prey upon the insect world.

ORDER V.—The fifth family of these life-destroying plants (Lentibulariaceae) embraces nearly 200 species, which are very unevenly distributed between four genera. The greater number are inhabitants of the temperate and cold regions of the globe. Some species are terrestrial, others aquatic; consequently very different adaptations are required for the capture of their prey. The former set their traps for winged or crawling animals, and the latter for those living in stagnant pools.

1. The largest genus is *Utricularia* (Bladder-wort), containing 150 species, of which eight occur in Canada. A few have been subjected to very careful observation and experiment.† The plants are often abundant in ditches and muddy pools along the roadsides, and can be easily procured for examination. Our Canadian species are all aquatic, having the stems and leaves immersed, and dissected into fine capillary divisions, bearing numerous little utricles or bladders which float the plant during the flowering season, which continues most of the summer. The leafless scapes rise from three to twelve inches above the water, and bear from one to ten peculiarly-shaped flowers of a yellow, or sometimes purple color. The bladders are furnished with a valvular lid, and usually with a few bristles at the entrance. Mrs. Treat, in New Jersey, experimented on *Utricularia clandestina*, and gives many interesting details. "There is a depression," she says, "at the entrance of the utricle, a pretty vestibule that seems to attract the little animals into the inviting retreat, where just beyond is a fatal trap or valve, which, if touched, springs back and engulphs the unwary adventurers, never more to be released. I was very much amused in watching a water-bear (*Tardigrada*) entrapped. It slowly walked around

\*Darwin devotes 50 pages to his experiments, and Mrs. Treat 24.

†Bentham, *Flora Australiensis*, vol II, 448.

the utricle, as if reconnoitring—very much like its larger namesake; finally it ventured into the vestibule and soon, heedlessly, touched the trap, when it was taken within so quickly that my eyes could not follow the motion. The utricle was transparent and quite empty, so that I could see the behavior of the little animal very distinctly. It seemed to look around as if surprised to find itself in so elegant a chamber; but it was soon quiet, and on the morning following it was entirely motionless, with its little feet and claws standing out stiff and rigid. The wicked plant had killed it very much quicker than it kills the snake-like larva." Mrs. Treat also describes how these plants entrap the larvae of the mosquito, an employment in which we wish it abundant success.

Darwin examined the bladders of a great many specimens of *U. neglecta* and found they contained four, five, eight, ten entomostracan crustaceans, and frequently other animals in the same bladder. One of our Canadian species (*U. vulgaris*), abundant in ditches, pools, lakes and slow streams from Newfoundland and Halifax to Vancouver, bears a bad reputation for trapping and destroying young fish. Young salmon, bred in hatcheries, when set free in the lakes are caught around the body in the mouth of the bladder and held fast till they perish. Five to ten crustaceans have been found in single utricles.

2. The genus *Pinguicula* (Butter-wort) contains about thirty species, of which three are credited to Canada. Of these only one (*Pinguicula vulgaris*) is of common occurrence, being distributed from Newfoundland and Labrador westward along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, and onward across the continent to the Alaskan Islands. It is a small, perennial plant, five to six inches in height, growing on wet rocks and thin, damp soil, to which it is fixed by very short, delicate roots. The slender scape is terminated by a single flower with a funnel-form tube and unequal lips of a violet colour. The base of the tube is provided with a straightish spur. The leaves (about eight in number) are ovate or elliptical, and clustered around the base into a rosette, from three to four inches in diameter. They are of a light green colour, rather thick, and have a soft, fleshy or greasy feel to the touch (whence their name.) When full grown they are about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in breadth. The young central leaves are

concave, the margins curve upwards, and the upper surface is thickly studded with two sets of glandular hairs of different sizes, which all secrete a viscid colourless fluid. They are generally covered with insects entangled in the secretion—as many as thirty being counted on a single leaf. All kinds—dip-  
tera, hymenoptera, coleoptera, moths, ants and larvae—appear to be equally welcomed and subjected to the same treatment. When an insect is caught by the glands, the secretion is largely increased, the edge of the leaf begins to fold inwards, and after a time partly closes over the victim ; the secretion becomes acid and acquires the power of digestion. The dissolved nitrogenous matter is absorbed by the glands, as is proved by the aggregation of their contents into slowly moving granular masses of protoplasm. The period required for absorption varies according to the nature and size of the object embraced by the leaf, but twenty-four hours are generally sufficient ; it then begins again to expand, gradually assumes its previous form, and patiently awaits the arrival of another victim.

Mrs. Treat discovered that “the pinguiculas are not only carnivorous, but also vegetable feeders,” and that they consume large amounts of pollen, which falls upon them from the pines which abound in the barren lands where these plants grow. Large quantities of pollen are often found on the leaves, mingled with small flies, and equally involved in the secretion from the glands. Careful experiments proved that “the pollen was gradually dissolved and disappeared with the secretion.” The amount of secretion varied with the weather, being most copious in fine dry days—the time when insects are most abundant in the surrounding air. The number captured and consumed by these plants in every land must be very great.

3. The genus *Polypompholax* embraces four species, all confined to Western Australia. They bear a strong resemblance to *Utricularia*, and capture their prey in small bladders of somewhat similar construction.

4. The last genus demanding notice (*Genlisea*) inhabits marshy grounds in many countries, but does not occur in North America. Eleven species have been described. They are represented as remarkable plants, furnished with utricles of such peculiar structure that no intelligible description of them can be given without illustrations.

Several interesting questions might be asked respecting the origin of those carnivorous plants. What peculiarities of environment on dry land, or in marshes, bogs or pools, tended to develop these numerous contrivances for alluring and captivating prey? How did the plants acquire a taste for animal food contrary to the ordinary laws of nature? Were they driven by hunger to develope alluring sweets, and traps, and pitfalls, and stomach-like sacs, with digestive and absorbing apparatus, to seize upon unwary visitors and consume them for food? It is very true that many, perhaps all, of them grow in positions where nitrogenous food cannot be secured by the roots; and that the roots are very small and few, fitted only for the absorption of water. But this does not explain the production of the pitchers of Sarracenia—or the swift closing traps of Dionaea—or the long, sensitive, secreting glands of Drosera—or the infolding leaves of Pinguicula—or the stomach-like bladders of Utricularia—or the numerous other adaptations for luring animals to their death and consuming them for food.

JAMES FOWLER.

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#### THE FEUDAL SYSTEM IN CANADA.\*

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“THE physiognomy of a government,” says De Tocqueville, “can be best judged in its colonies. When I wish to study the spirit and faults of the administration of Louis XIV. I must go to Canada. Its deformity is there seen as through a microscope.”

And in probably no phase of French colonial policy does this assertion seem to have been more fully verified than in the Land Tenure system of the old *Regime*.

For about two centuries before the period of French colonial expansion the history of Feudalism in France is the history of an institution striving to retain its position after its vitality had been sapped away. In its earlier stages the system had rested upon a two-fold basis—that of the vassal to serve, and that of the lord

\*From a paper before the Kingston Historical Society.

to defend—and during the political chaos of the earlier mediaeval period a system of mutual service and protection was almost the essential of existence. But with the growth of the central power the necessity for protection gradually vanished and the system thenceforward became one-sided, the vassal bearing the burdens without enjoying the rights. It had fully entered upon this phase when the extension of French influence to the American continent afforded fresh fields for the system's development.

Various reasons have been given as explanatory of the policy of the French administration in introducing the system into its colonies. It has been said that Richelieu looked upon its establishment in Canada as the means of ridding France of many of its impoverished nobility without damaging their dignity, or, again, that Louis XIV. deemed the existence of the system essential to the maintenance of strict royal control. But it is difficult to conceive how any other policy could have been pursued. Feudalism, though decayed, was still deeply rooted in France, and the virgin forests of America seemed to offer a promising field for individual initiative. In following this course France, moreover, was not alone, for the Manorial system in the New England colonies and the system of Paltroonships established by the Dutch in New Holland were both far from being free from feudal traits, and followed, in each case, closely on the land-tenure system of the mother country.

As regards New France, the Feudal System had its origin in the Royal Concession of 1628 to the *Compagnie de Nouvelle France* of the whole of Canada as one immense fief reserving to the Crown the right of fealty and homage alone. The company on its part undertook, within a certain specified time, to transport to the colony and to furnish with subsistence for three years not less than four thousand settlers, to whom it was to grant tracts of land "on whatever terms it should deem advisable." During the thirty-five years of its existence the Company granted some sixty odd seignories, many of which were never even taken possession of by the grantees. They were, for the most part, conceded merely in order to fulfil the obligation of sub-infeudation imposed by the charter, and little or no regard seems to have been paid to the powers of the grantee to properly develop his seignory. When, in 1663, the Company of

New France surrendered its charter, the privileges which it had enjoyed were handed over to the Company of the West Indies, and in the eleven years during which it monopolised Canadian trade it took occasion to grant some seignories. But from 1663 onward the king very frequently made grants directly and issued regulations regarding grants already made by the companies. Soon after the revocation of the charter of the company of New France he issued an edict revoking all grants on which settlement had not been commenced, and this was followed up in 1672 by another edict reducing all partly settled grants to one-half their original extent. In 1674, when the Company of the West Indies gave up its rights, the king took the matter of land grants entirely into his own hands. The plan of making a commercial company feudal suzerain of the colony had proven a failure. It is difficult to see how it could have proven anything else, for the interest of the companies was primarily to make an increasing profit out of the fur trade, and not to further royal designs for the agricultural development of the colony.

The king, therefore, in 1674, empowered the Governor and Intendant to make grants on their own responsibility, subject only to ratification by the crown, and from this time on grants became numerous. In all, lands were portioned out under no less than five different forms of tenure.

I. In *Franc aleu noble*. Of grants under this form I have been able to find only two—that of a strip of land near Three Rivers to the Jesuits in 1634,\* and that of Charlebourg, near Quebec, to the same religious order in 1637†. This form of tenure was of all forms the most free and honourable, lands held *en Franc aleu noble* being subject to no obligations of a feudal nature.

II. In *Franc aleu roturier*. This was a form of grant very similar to our English tenure in free and common socage. Land thus held was incapable of the attributes of nobility, but, in other respects free and subject to no obligations other than the general ones to which its holder was liable as a citizen of France. Under this form several grants were made, usually with some special object in view, as e.g. the grant of Gaudarville to Lauzon in 1652,‡ made for the purpose of inducing the grantee to defend a dangerous post.

\**Tit. des Seig.* I, 347.

†*Tit. des Seig.* I, 345.

‡*Tit. des Seig.* I, 426.

III. In *Franc aumone* (frankalmoigne or mortmain). Numerous grants were made under this form, invariably to religious, charitable or educational institutions, the sole obligation attached to the grant being that of performing certain religious, charitable or educational duties in return. Thus the grant in 1647 of *La Prairie de la Magdelaine* to the Jesuits "in order that we may be participating in their prayers and holy sacrifices."\*

IV. *En seif* or *en seigneurie*. It was under this form that the greater portion of the territory was parcelled out. The preceding forms must be regarded merely as deviations from the general rule made in view of special circumstances. As to the size of grants *en seif* or *en seigneurie* there was no fixed rule; they varied from sixteen *arpents*† by fifty to ten leagues by twelve. All grants of feifs or seignories entailed certain obligations to the crown, the principal of which were :

(a) The obligation to render fealty and homage to the king's representative at the Chateau de St. Louis in Quebec.

(b) The payment of a mutation fine known as the *Quint*. This was the sole pecuniary tribute payable by the Seignors to the Crown on all grants made under the *Coutoume de Paris*. It amounted to one-fifth of the value of the feif and became payable on every mutation of ownership by sale or by inheritance other than in direct succession. Of its amount it was the custom of the Crown to grant a rebate of one-fifth. Some grants, however, especially those made by the Company of New France, were not conceded under the *Coutoume de Paris*, but under what was known as the rule of *Vexin le Français*, in which case the obligation of *Relief* took the place of that of the *Quint*. The *Relief* amounted to one-year's revenue on all mutations of ownership, whether by direct succession or otherwise, but in some cases‡ provision was made for the payment of an ounce of gold (*une maille d'or*) instead of the year's revenue.

(c) The Seignor was under obligation to make, within forty days from the date of his grant, an *avou et denombryment*, consisting of a declaration, duly drawn up and attested before a notary public in the presence of witnesses, setting forth the extent and character of his grant, the privileges he possessed, and various

\**Tit. des Seig.* I. 349.

†About five-sixths of an acre.

‡Seignory of Beauport. *Tit. des Seig.* I. 428.

other particulars. These were kept on file in Quebec and formed an accurate basis of information in regard to reports frequently required by the French government.

(d) The *Feu de feif*, or obligation to sub-infeudate his lands. The question as to whether this was a general obligation on the seignors is one which has been the subject of much dispute. As a matter of fact the obligation appears as an express condition in but a comparatively few titles. In France the Seignor was under no legal obligation to sub-grant his lands; on the contrary the *Coutoume de Paris* expressly forbade the alienation of more than two-thirds of a feif. Some of the Canadian grants, moreover, were too small to be dismembered as e.g.: the Seignory of St. Jean,\* which consisted of less than 100 *arpents* in all, and in one case,† at least, it was expressly provided that no one but the grantees should ever be allowed within the bounds of the seignory.

But, on the other hand, it seems clear that the king's intention was to have the seignories sub-infeudated. This can be seen from the tenor of the various edicts issued in respect to land grants, notably those of 1711, 1732 and 1743. The first and most important of these, the famous *Arrêts* of Marly, states that "His majesty having been informed that there are some seignors who refuse, under different pretexts, to concede their lands to inhabitants who demand the same . . . . which is entirely contrary to His Majesty's intentions", it is ordered that on the expiration of a year from the date of the publication of the *Arrêts*, all seigniorial grants which had not been at least partly sub-granted and cleared, should revert to the crown.‡ This was followed in 1732 by the *Arrêt* of Versailles, and in 1743 by a further *arrêt*, both of which reiterated His Majesty's position on the subject of sub-infeudation. The tenor of these edicts leaves no doubt as to the intentions of the king, no matter what may have been expressly stipulated in the grants themselves.

In addition to these four principal obligations, various others were frequently inserted, such e.g. as the reservation of oak timber for His Majesty's navy, the disclosure of mines and minerals, and the reservation of whatever lands within the seig-

\**Tit. des. Seig.* I. 443, 449. †*Isle aux Coudres. Tit. des. Seig.* I. 322.

‡*Edicts and Ordinances* I. 326.

nory should be at any time subsequently found necessary for fortifications or other military purposes.

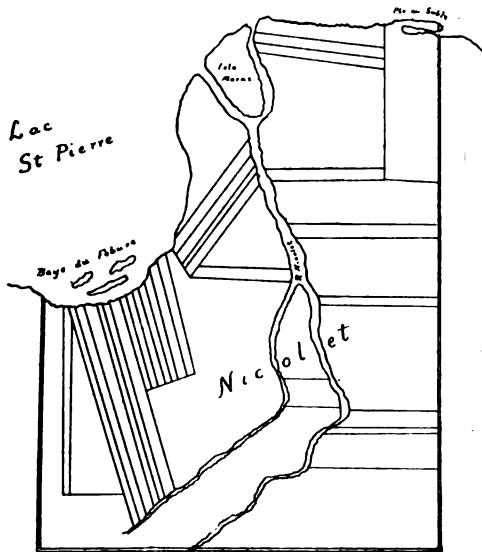
The obligation to render military service does not appear as an express condition in any of the grants. Its insertion was rendered unnecessary by the fact that all, whether landholders or not, were liable to be called upon for service at any time. In many cases, moreover, the government took good care to place the seignorial grants in such a locality that the obligation of military service could never be a matter of choice. Especially is this shown in the case of the grants made to the officers of the *Regiment de Carignan*, which came out to Canada with De Tracy in 1664, served successfully against the Iroquois, and a portion of which was disbanded in the colony. With a view to improving the colonial defence, Colbert, the French minister, issued instructions to Talon, at that time Intendant, to the effect that officers of the regiment desiring to settle in the colony should receive seignories varying in extent according to their rank, while the sum of £150 in cash or £100 and a year's subsistence should be granted to each sergeant, and £100 or £50 and a year's subsistence to each private soldier who should take up lands within the seignories allotted to the officers. The retired officer would thus become a sort of feudal chief, and the whole settlement a permanent military cantonment admirably adapted for the defence of frontier territory. In accordance with these instructions Talon portioned out to the Carignan officers the lands along the Richelieu river to a point near Chambly, comprising the strip of territory which lay between Montreal and the powerful Iroquois tribes. It was in this way that the progenitors of some of the leading French families of the Province of Quebec at the present day first became permanent settlers in Canada. The names of De La Durantaye, St. Ours, Coutrecoeur, De Ramezay, Le Gardeur, Vercheres, Dupuy, Perrot, Bouteillerie and others may be found among the list of Carignan officers receiving grants at this time.

V. The fifth form of tenure was that under which were held the sub-grants made by the seignors. Such sub-grants might be made (a) *En arriere-feif*, in which case the sub-grantee received the same rights and incurred the same obligations with regard to his grants as the dominant seignor had heretofore enjoyed. Sub-

grants under [this form were not common. (b) *En censive*, in which case the grantee could not in turn sub-infeudate. Some *en censive* grants were made by the Crown direct, but only under exceptional circumstances as e.g. in the case of a few concessions near Detroit, where the original seigniorial sub-grants were declared invalid and new titles issued direct from the Crown. (c) *En roture*, a tenure similar to *en censive*, but with rules slightly different as regarded the descent of the land in the case of intestate succession.

All seigniorial sub-grants took one or other of these forms. They varied very widely in extent, but invariably assumed the same shape, that of a parallelogram with a frontage of two or three *arpents* along the river and a depth of from about forty to eighty *arpents*, made indiscriminately with little or no attempt at system\*. It has never been definitely ascertained who was the originator of this peculiar division of land so universally

\*This will be seen in the accompanying sketch from the *Carte Cadastrale* of 1685-1709.



PLAN OF THE SEIGNORY OF NICOLET (1700.)  
SHOWING THE CHARACTER OF SUB-GRANTS.

adopted in Lower Canada. Mr. Sulte, who is an authority on points of this nature, believes that it originated with Jean Bourdon, the first Surveyor-General, who mapped out the seignories in oblong shapes with narrow frontages along the river, and that the seignors followed this model in making their sub-grants. At any rate, a more pernicious plan could scarcely have been adopted, for by the *Coutoume de Paris* there was no complete recognition of the law of primogeniture. The eldest son took the manor or seignorial residence, together with the major share of the land, the rest was divided equally.\* While in the case of collateral succession and succession by females, all received share and share alike. Thus resulted a system of properties growing smaller and smaller at each mutation, but still retaining their oblong shape, to the great detriment of agricultural progress.

The rights of the seignor over his grants, *en censive* or *en roture*, may be classed under three main heads:

I. FINANCIAL. These comprised :

(a) The *cens et rentes*—a ground rent, composed of two parts, the *cens* payable in money, the *rentes* payable usually in kind. The *cens* is generally looked upon as having been a merely nominal due imposed solely in recognition of the seignor's superiority and valuable mainly as establishing his claim to other and more important rights. It amounted generally to one or two *sols* per superficial *arpent*, but it differed in various seignories and even in different parts of the same seignory. According to the *Coutoume de Paris* the seignor was supposed to stipulate the amount of *cens* when conveying the grant, but in the event of his failing to do so, the amount was to be reckoned by reference to the rate customary in the neighborhood. But in Canada the seignor frequently refused to concede unless he obtained his own terms which included often an entrance fine (*dernier d'entree*). It was to put an end to this practice that a clause in the *Arrêts* of Marly (1711) provided that when a seignor refused to concede lands to applicants the Governor and Intendant should have power to step in and make the grant at the customary rate.

When the colonial currency became depreciated disputes arose between seignor and *censitaire* as to whether the dues should

\**C. de P.*, Art. XV.

be paid in the colonial (*monnaie du pays*), or French (*tournois*) currency. A Royal Edict\* in 1717 settled the matter by ordering that unless otherwise stipulated in the grant, dues were to be paid in colonial currency with a deduction of one-fourth. This can be accounted for when we find that colonial money was, at this time, circulating at a premium of one-fourth over the money of France.†

The *rentes*, on the other hand, was supposed to be a return for seignorial superintendence. It consisted generally of one-half *minot*‡ of corn or one fat capon for each superficial *arpent*, but these might be commuted in cash at the current rate, which varied from ten to twenty *sols*. As it was, apparently, the custom of the *censitaire* to pay in corn or poultry when these were cheap, and in money when they were dear, an ordinance in 1730 declared that the form of payment should thenceforward be decided by the seignior.

(b) The *lods et ventes*. This due was a direct descendant of the old feudal incident known as "Fine on alienation". It became payable on each mutation of ownership of lands within the seigniory, whether by sale or by inheritance, other than in direct succession. In France it amounted generally to one-sixth, but in some cases to even one-fifth or one-fourth of the consideration.§ In Canada, however, the amount exacted was only one-twelfth, and of this the seignior usually remitted one-fourth, although he was under no obligation to do so.

Supplementary to this right to receive payment of *lods et ventes*, the seignior enjoyed the *droit de retraite*, in virtue of which he could preempt any property sold by payment to the purchaser of the mutation price within forty days from the date of sale. The right existed not only in France, where it was known as the right of *retraite-lignager*, but in the land-tenure system of countries to which feudalism had never penetrated. It is found e.g.: in the agrarian systems of the Arabs and Algerians under the name of the "*Cheffa*".¶

In its origin the *droit de retraite* existed for the protection, not for the profit of the seignior. One writer on Canadian

\**Ed. and Ord.* I. 370.

†Cf. Shortt, *Canadian Currency under French Rule*. I. p. 8.

‡About four-fifths of a bushel. §Taine, *L'Ancien Régime*

¶Lavaleye, *De la propriété et de ses formes primitives*. p. 98.

Feudalism\* informs us that it served to prevent the seignor's being defrauded out of his *cens et rentes*. But this we can hardly accept, since, as has been seen, the *cens et rentes* was reckoned on the extent, not on the value of the grant. The real object of the right was to afford the seignor protection against being defrauded out of his proper *lods et ventes* through the sale by *censitaires* of their lands for less than the proper price. But while, originally, the right extended to mutations of land only, it was extended by the Canadian seigneurs to include sales of all property whether real or personal. Such an extension was entirely unwarranted since the seignor received no dues on mutations of personality and could, therefore, sustain no loss.

(c) A third seigniorial right was that known as the *Banalité* or *Droit de Banal*. In this case the incident partook partly of the nature of a right and partly that of a duty. It implied the right on the one hand of the seignor to construct a flour mill within the limits of his seignory, and as a corollary from this the right to prevent others from so doing. It implied, on the other hand, the obligation on the *censitaires* to have their grain ground there and not elsewhere on pain of confiscation. The amount of the toll receivable was fixed by an *Arrêt* of 1667† at one-fourteenth of the grain ground. The burden of this obligation did not, at first, lean heavily upon the *censitaires*, but rather upon the seigneurs who could generally ill afford the means requisite to build the mill and to import the machinery from France. The toll, moreover, except in the case of the more populous seignories, scarcely sufficed to pay the wages of the miller. Many of the mills were run by wind power (*moulins à vent*), and this seems to have been very unreliable, for an Intendant's ordinance in 1730‡ ordered that any *censitaire* on having to wait more than forty-eight hours should be allowed to take his grain on to the mill of any other seignory. The machinery seems to have been very crude, and the miller's knowledge of the art of flour-making sometimes more so, for in 1757 complaint was made to the Intendant that in one case the seignor was doing the milling himself, with the result that the *censitaires* got cracked wheat in-

\*Robert Abraham, *Some Remarks on Franc aleu roturier and other forms of tenure.* (Montreal, 1849) p. 25.

†*Ed. & Ord.* II. 39.      ‡*Ed. & Ord.* III. p. 286.

stead of flour.\* So, on the whole, the system of *Banal* mills was not a success.

There existed also another species of *Banal* right, known as *Fours Banal*, comprising the right of the seignors to build a seigniorial oven and the obligation of the *censitaires* to have their bread baked therein—a right and obligation which does not seem to have been exercised and exacted, although a report from the Intendant to the French government in 1707† shows that the seignors fully maintained their claim to it.

In 1686 the king issued an *Arrêt* directing that all seignors having the *Banal* right should erect their mills forthwith, otherwise the right should be declared an open one. Many seignors were unable to comply with the provisions of this *arrêt* and lost their privileges in consequence.

(d) The *corvée* or right of the seignor to compel the performance by his *censitaires* of a certain amount of labor upon the seigniorial domain without compensation. Like most of the other rights, this one varied in different parts of the colony, and even in the same part at different periods. It was, however, laid down by an ordinance in 1716,‡ that the *censitaires* could not be called upon to perform their *corvées* during seed-time or harvest. The same ordinance evened up matters, however, by declaring that the seignor was not bound to furnish either food or tools to the workmen during the performance of their work. As a rule, the obligation could be commuted into a cash payment, which amounted, as far as can be ascertained, to about 20 *sols* per annum for each arpent in front by forty in depth. The exaction of *corvée* was declared illegal by the king in an edict issued in 1717,§ but many of Louis XV's edicts passed unheeded in Canada, and this appears to have been one of those, for the obligation is found in existence even after the conquest.

These four were, then, the principal pecuniary rights, but there were several others of not a great deal less importance, e.g., the right to reserve wood and stone necessary for the building of the seigniorial manor, mill or church; the right of *chassè*, i.e., of

\**Ed. & Ord.* II. p. 215.

†Raudot to Pontchartrain, 10th Nov., 1707. *Corr. Gen.* Vol. xxvii.

‡*Ed. & Ord.* II. p. 444.

§Correspondence between Governor and Intendant and French Government, p. 17.

hunting on the *censitaires'* lands ; the right of *pêchè* or to one fish in every eleven caught by the *censitaire* in the waters fronting the seignory. This last was frequently commuted by the payment of a certain quantity of fish for the whole year. The right of ferry over rivers was also considered as appertaining to the seignor.

II.—JUDICIAL.—Not all grants of seignories conveyed the right of administering justice, but only those in which the right was specifically stated. There were three degrees of judicial power, *haute, moyenne et Basse Justice*, any or all of which might be conferred upon the seignor. *Haute* Justice conferred the power of dealing with crimes punishable by mutilation or death, excepting only such crimes as were committed directly against the royal power as e.g. treason, counterfeiting, etc., and with all civil actions\*. Many seignorial grants conferred the privilege of administering *haute* justice, but no instance is on record of the capital sentence having been pronounced in a seignorial court.

*Moyenne* justice included the right of dealing with misdemeanors punishable by fine, and with civil actions where the amount involved did not exceed 60 *sols*. The grant of *Basse* justice, again, empowered the seignor to deal with minor offences and disputes regarding seignorial dues when these amounted to not more than 10 *sols*. But in most cases all three degrees of judicial power were granted together, and in all cases appeals lay to the royal courts, which sat weekly at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. In France the judicial privileges were among the most remunerative, but in Canada they rarely yielded any important profit. Judging from the number and character of the cases coming in the first instance before the royal courts, the seignorial courts were never an important element in the judicial system of the colony.

III.—HONORARY.—Seignors were entitled to receive the fealty and homage of their *censitaires* on the occasion of all grants or mutations. This was rendered at the manor, usually on St. Martin's day, when the *censitaires* assembled to make payment of their *cens et rentes*.

In addition to this the seignor frequently stipulated in his grants for certain other privileges, e.g. A concession *en censive*

\*For a full description of seignorial judicial powers vide Doutre & Lareau, *Histoire du Droit Canadien*.

in the seignory of Beaujeu required, among numerous other conditions, "that the said grantee, his heirs and assigns, shall, together with the other inhabitants of the seignory, plant a Maypole on the usual day at the door of the seignorial manor."

Some seignors received, besides their grants, patents of nobility, but these were the favored few. In 1671, the lands of Talon, the Intendant, were erected into the Barony Des Islets, "in consideration of the services which he has heretofore rendered," and four years later the Baron des Islets became the Count d'Orsainville for "having given still stronger proofs of his zeal and affection."\*

Thus the first Canadian Barony dates from 1671, not from 1675, as one learned writer on the subject of titled Canadians would have us believe.†

In 1700 Charles Lemoyne was made Baron de Longueill, while some years earlier (1681) the lands of Jacques Le Neuf Potherie were erected into the Barony of Portneuf. In addition to these three Baronies many letters of *noblesse* were issued creating a lesser nobility. The title of nobility gave no pecuniary rights or special privileges and the *noblesse* as a rule were without means, while their rank precluded their engaging in business. Their poverty was, in fact, a continual cause of complaint to the king. In 1679 the Intendant wrote to Colbert that they were a "burden on the colony".‡ Twelve years later his successor implored the king "I pray you grant no more letters of nobility unless you desire to multiply beggars."§ The king, on his part, endeavored to improve their condition by granting *congés* or dispensations allowing the *noblesse* to work without prejudice to their rank, but even this did not prove effectual and a striking example of their poverty is shown when, in 1690, Frontenac applied for letters of nobility for one François Hertel. The letters-patent duly arrived, but Hertel had no money to pay the required fee. Frontenac referred the matter back to the king and received from the minister a characteristic despatch¶ which

\**T. de Seig.* I. 444.

†Sir J. D. Edgar, *Titles of Honor in Canada*, University of Toronto Quarterly, 1890, p. 98.

‡Duchesneau to Minister, *Corr. Gen.* vol. V.

§Champigny to Minister, *Corr. Gen.* vol. XI.

¶"Sa majeste n'a pas vouler entrer dans la demande du Sieur de Hertel, et si cet homme n'est pas en etat du payer le sceau des letters de noblesse qu'elle lui accordées, il le sera encore moins d'en soutenir la qualitie. Sa majeste ne les

is interesting in that it shows not only that the king was beginning to recognize the hopelessness of his scheme for the creation of a Canadian nobility, but also that ability to write good French was not an indispensable requisite even to a minister at the Court of Louis XIV.

Such then were in general, the several rights and obligations of the Seignorial System in Canada. Seldom has a system of land tenure been planted in soil more favorable to its development. Unlike as in the New England colonies, the feudal relation was never disturbed by the introduction of slavery. The Canadian seignior, unlike the New England Manorial landholder, was never an absentee. On the contrary, he lived and worked on his grant, mingling with his *censitaires*, supervising their labors in time of peace and fighting at their head in time of war. "He was," says Parkman, "at home among his tenants, at home among the Indians, and never more at home than when, a gun in his hand and a crucifix on his breast, he took the warpath with a crew of painted savages and Frenchmen almost as wild, and pounced like a lynx from the forest on some lonely farm or outlying hamlet of New England. How New England hated him let her records tell. The reddest blood-streaks on her old annals mark the track of the Canadian *gentilhomme*."

The development of the system was aided also by the organization of the Church. "The *censitaire* had two points of rendezvous, his church and his manor, the interests of which were ordinarily identical, while the limits of his parish were the limits of the seignory."\*

After the conquest the English government left the French-Canadian people their old civil law, but without that machinery which was essential for its proper enforcement, and what was even more important—for its development. Hence it was after the cession that the evil traits of the land tenure system made themselves most apparent. Seignorial exactions multiplied, and the English courts were almost powerless to afford the *censitaires* protection, for the seignior had custom on his side, and custom to the new courts was all-powerful. Out of the land-tenure cases aurorait pas accordees si elle avait ete informee de sa pauvrete etait certain que cela ne servirait qu'a jeter ses enfants dans le desordre, qui auraient pu s'adonner a des travaux qui ne conviennent point a des gentilshommes."

\*Casgrain, *Une paroisse Canadienne Au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siecle*, p. 41.

brought before the Court of King's Bench during a period of twenty-five years after the conquest, only one was decided in favour of the *censitaire*. The seignorial question was one of the knottiest problems which fell upon the hands of the English government in Canada. The first attempt to deal with it was made in 1823, when an Act was passed (3 Geo. IV., c. 119) granting to all seignors, or to *censitaires* holding direct from the Crown, the privilege of commututing their dues to the Crown and receiving a title in free and common socage. This privilege was, however, not taken advantage of by the parties concerned. The next Act, passed in 1825 (6 Geo. III., c. 59), went further and gave power to seignors to effect commutation of dues with their *censitaires*. But, like its predecessor, this Act effected nothing.

And although the matter was made the subject of considerable correspondence between the Canadian and British Governments, no further action was taken till about some fifteen years later.

This time the action came from the Canadian Legislature, which in 1841 appointed a commission to obtain information on the matter of the seignorial tenure, and in 1850 adopted resolutions to the effect that the matter was one of grave public concern, and that the commutation of the tenure was advisable. These resolutions were referred to a select committee and by it was drafted the bill which became the "Seignorial Act of 1854", providing in general for the compulsory commutation of all seignorial dues. To settle the question as to what rights were entitled to indemnity, a special court consisting of seven Superior Court Judges was created, and on the basis recommended by this court indemnities amounting to several millions of dollars were paid by the Provincial Government of Quebec. Several seignories, held chiefly by religious bodies, were exempted from the provisions of this act; of these a few effected commutation voluntarily, others, as e.g. the Seminary of St. Sulpice, have retained their rights to the present day.

Thus ended, after an eventful history, extending over more than two centuries, the Feudal System in Canada.

It is surprising what little attention has been paid to the working of the system by the historians of Canada. Charlevoix, Ferland, Pothier and Garneau treat it with but passing notice.

Kingsford devotes to its consideration four pages out of some five or six thousand, and then apologizes for even this scant notice on the ground that "it becomes necessary in order to simplify references to the system".

What would be thought of a ten-volume history of England which devoted four pages to the consideration of the land-tenure system of the Anglo-Saxons?

With all its defects the Seignorial System is hardly deserving of the contempt with which it is the general tendency of English writers to look upon it. That it was not so oppressive after all is shown by the fact that long after the conquest many British settlers petitioned to have their lands granted to them under seignorial tenure in preference to tenure in free and common socage.

The evils of the system are to be attributed in a large measure to features not essentials of the tenure itself, but superimposed upon it—the inconvenient configuration of the grants, the granting of feifs to seignors who were too poor to fulfil their obligations, the application to an agricultural colony of a code of laws (*coutoume de Paris*) which was suitable only for an industrial or commercial community, and finally to the action of the English Government in retaining the system without retaining the machinery which was essential to its proper development. These are errors for which we must blame, not the system itself, but the administration of it.

W. BENNETT MUNRO.

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#### THE ELECTORAL ASSEMBLIES OF ROME.

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IN the study of antiquity we find the earlier civilizations pursuing their different lines of development in accordance with some great master impulses or ideas. These ideas represent the attitude of the national mind to the problems of life and the universe. In the oriental world, prostrate before the powers of nature, the Deity or the king—heaven's representative on earth—these ideas are religious. Thus Egypt, according to Professor Tiele, stands for life and immortality; Babylon and Assyria for inscrutability; Persia for social virtue and the struggle against

moral evil; India for universal redemption. In the western world, on the other hand, wherein humanity has supplanted the higher powers as the centre of interest, and the dignity of man first asserts itself, the ideas are of a more secular and complex character.

Hence Greece responds to the idea of beauty, not merely the beauty of the divine, but the beauty of the human—the harmony of religion, science, art and philosophy; while Rome represents to us the ideas of political order and the practical government of society.

The newly founded science of Comparative Religions proves the interest and value to the theologian of the ancient views of man's relation to God, and no less valuable and necessary to the scholar for any proper understanding of many of the classical authors is a clear knowledge of the political institutions of Greece and Rome. The lessons to be learnt in the sphere of politics from a study of the long career of Rome especially, where for seven hundred years plebeian and noble wrestled and mutually reacted on each other, exhibiting the interplay of parties under free institutions for a longer period than among any other people, are many and important.

Out of the large subject of the political institutions of Rome, I select for treatment one chapter only—that of the electoral assemblies\*. This article will transport us into antiquity, but it ought not to leave us there. Who is there that studies the history of former days that does not desire at the same time that the present should profit by the past? It is both a legitimate and suggestive study to learn how the Romans faced the problems with which we still have to deal, how their elections were conducted, what services and promises were most potent in attracting voters, what perils threatened the state through a suffrage exercised as his right by every citizen, however poor or ignorant he might be, how violence, bribery and corruption were employed to secure high office in the state, and what measures were taken by patriotic citizens to stem the tide of evil, and to defend the free institutions of the country against the assaults of ambitious and designing men.

\*The authorities on this subject are Willems, Gentile, and Marquardt and Mommsen. The discussion by Gaston Boissier in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1882, is particularly genial, and to it I am much indebted.

In order to understand the right of suffrage as practiced among the Romans we need to comprehend the Roman constitution and the nature of the electoral assemblies.

First the constitution. The Roman Republic was essentially aristocratic, in this respect differing from the democratic character of the republics of Greece. Throughout the long career of the Republic the aristocratic element is the preponderant one and puts its stamp on the whole national character, on manners, institutions and ideas. It was not the work of a man or of an hour, but of ages of conflict between the party of the nobles and the party of the commons. In the compromise between opposing interests while at each recurring struggle less power was left in the hands of the nobles and more power passed into the hands of the people, the aristocratic element still remained the real masters of Rome. What was openly lost by the aristocracy was still maintained by the exercise of their influence and authority. How fundamentally aristocratic was the character of the Roman state can be illustrated even from the nature of Imperial rule. On the morrow of the establishment of the Empire, which owed its existence to the favor of the lower orders—the right of suffrage was taken away by Tiberius from the people, while the Senate continued its existence as the only check to despotic rule, and divided with the Emperor the respect of the world. Throughout Rome's long career until she stood forth the acknowledged mistress of the world, it was the rule of the nobles that dictated her policy.

In Rome's slow but steady advance from a village occupied by a rude pastoral people to the position of ruler of the known world we see the defects as well as the virtues of aristocratic rule—its selfishness, cruelty and lack of originality as opposed to its perseverance, its courage, its elasticity in defeat, its indomitable energy. These are the virtues of the great ruling races, but never have they been exhibited on a grander scale than by the Romans. These qualities do the nobles exhibit, not merely in contact with foreign nations, but in the long strife with the commons, an enemy much stronger than themselves. Foot by foot are they forced to yield, but only to seek by some clever ruse on the morrow to recover the ground they had lost the day before.

From the earliest existence of Rome the national will was

expressed by the popular assemblies, which passed the laws and elected the magistrates of the city. The king had only a delegated authority, which terminated with his life. The appointment to the regal office reverted on his death to the assembly. This assembly as first constituted is known as the *Comitia Curiata*. It was composed of the first founders of Rome and their descendants. They alone were regarded as Rome's true citizens, and with that citizenship went the inalienable right of voting in the *Comitia Curiata*. This aristocratic assembly represented the thirty curies, or wards, into which the ancient city was divided. Though superseded by the recasting of the constitution under Servius Tullius it lived on, however, with a shadowy existence for centuries until the close of the Republic. Servius had robbed it of its authority, the nobles no longer assembled to its sessions, yet it was religiously preserved, in obedience to the Roman reverence for ancient forms and institutions. It was the practice of the Romans never to destroy anything with the sanction of antiquity. Hence in the later Republic the thirty deserted curies were represented each year merely by thirty lictors, who assembled and dissolved with a stately formality that kept up the semblance of an earlier unlimited power.

It was soon apparent, even to the patricians of Rome, that their exclusive claims must give way, if Rome was to accomplish her high destiny. A keen political insight combatted in them the privileges of their order. They felt that the restriction of the rights of citizenship would reduce Rome to play the role of a petty Greek state with its jealous patriotism which admitted of no expansion. If Rome was to grow, it was necessary for her to change the strangers who had flocked to the attraction of her reputation, into free citizens possessed of full political rights. Hence arose the necessity of enlarging the political basis of Rome, in order that the foreigners who had been attracted might be retained and that the feelings of jealousy and injustice might be eradicated from the disfranchised plebeian masses.

The reform in the constitution, by which the lower orders were incorporated into the state, and the patrician assembly of the *Comitia Curiata* superseded by the new assembly of the *Comitia Centuriata* is attributed to Servius Tullius, fifth in order of the seven Kings of Rome. As all Athenian laws were attri-

buted to Solon as their originator, so all great early constitutional changes were attributed by the Romans to Servius. The Servian Constitution reveals rather the usual tactics of the Roman aristocracy. The substance of authority was still retained by the privileged classes, while they surrendered the form to the rising demands of the new comers. In this new assembly the political preponderance is determined, not by birth as in the curies, but by fortune. The people were divided into five classes, graded according to their assessment. The political astuteness of the aristocratic classes is shown in the large apparent concession to the popular demand for representation whereby, as Livy says, without appearing to exclude any man, they preserved for themselves the reality of power. Of the 193 centuries, or hundreds, into which the five classes were divided, 80 were assigned to the first, or richest class, most of whom were patricians or with patrician leanings, and 18 to the order of the equites, whose natural affiliations were with the nobles. Thus the largest number of votes were wielded by those who numerically were far the weakest. The ability to baffle the wishes of the lower orders was further enhanced by the provision that the majority in any class carried the whole vote of the class. In order, therefore, to wield a controlling influence in the Comitia Centuriata it was not necessary by any means that the political sentiment of the first or second classes should be unanimous, it was sufficient that in each the feeling should be strong enough to overpower the opposing interest. Thus with one hand the aristocracy retained what with the other they had the air of surrendering.

Still a great step forward had been made by the plebs. They had a country. They felt, however, they had been outwitted by the patricians, and that the Comitia Centuriata was always at the discretion of the nobles. By dint, therefore, of complaints and menaces, they extracted from the fears of the aristocracy the establishment of another popular assembly, the *Comitia Tributa*. This took shape 150 years after the Servian constitution. In this assembly the privileges of the higher classes were reduced and the will of the lower orders received effect. With the exception of the Consuls, Praetors and Censors, who were still elected by the Comitia Centuriata, all other officers of

state, the Tribunes of the people, Quaestors Ediles and minor officials were elected by the Comitia Tributa. In this new assembly the voting was not confined to the city as in the case of the Comitia Centuriata, but took place also throughout the country districts adjoining the capital. In order that the will of the people might be the better carried into effect, out of the 35 tribes, or districts, but four were assigned to the capital, the other 31 tribes were in the country. Thus the authority of the nobles, who were largely centered in Rome, and that of the vast army of their clients was reduced to a minimum.

In the *Comitia Tributa* all distinctions of rank and fortune were ignored. The voting was carried on in each tribal centre on the territorial principle that prevails to-day among modern peoples. Through this assembly the lower orders had obtained a voice and gained an importance that made itself felt. They forced the adoption of many of their resolutions on the nobles and their decisions became obligatory on the whole state.

Their influence in course of time became so great that in face of the danger that grew increasingly threatening, the aristocratic party felt compelled to compromise with the populace by modifying the nature of the Comitia Centuriata established under Servius Tullius. While the division of the people into five classes was retained no such preponderance on the part of the nobles was reserved as under the Servian arrangement, by which the will of the lower orders could be vetoed. The five classes, under the compromise between the two opposing systems, were divided into two centuries each. By this new readjustment the balance of power was transferred to the third or intermediate class. The old assembly of the centuries thus assumed a more democratic character and enabled the majority of the nation, when it was compact and seriously bent on enforcing its views, to carry its point with success. At what time this compromise was effected it is impossible to say with any degree of positiveness, but it seems to have taken place shortly before the second Punic War. Then for the first time do we see consuls of plebeian origin, Flamininus and Varro, detested by the nobles, leading forth Rome's armies to resist the Carthaginian foe, a clear proof that the old assembly of the centuries had been radically modified and had received a new form and character.

It might appear that with the Comitia Tributa voicing the opinion of the masses, and with all the higher offices now thrown open to every citizen in the Comitia Centuriata, the government of the Roman state was a truly popular one. But by means of two checks upon the free choice of the people, the patrician party, while conceding apparently the more pressing demands for reform, took their precautions to obstruct the democracy and to retain in their own hands much of their earlier authority.

The first means of thwarting the people was the giving of a higher value to a vote in the superior classes than it had in the lower. Every citizen, high or low, was a voter and in theory eligible for the loftiest position in the gift of the electors. But the vote was not individual, nor of the same value in the last class of citizens as in the first. On the reorganization of the Comitia Centuriata—the supreme electoral assembly of the Romans—there was incorporated into it that feature of the Comitia Tributa which placed most of the power in the hands of the rural districts lying around Rome, the division namely into 35 tribes or wards. In each tribe the distribution of the voters into five classes, according to the property assessment, held good. The five classes were further divided each into two sub-classes called centuriae—one for the older members (*seniores*), the other for the younger (*juniore*s), each century casting one vote. By this system each tribe counted ten votes, and the thirty-five counted three hundred and fifty, which was the complete electoral vote in the reformed Comitia Centuriata. The first or highest class in any tribe thus commanded two votes, in all the tribes seventy. By an alliance with the next class it commanded an additional seventy votes, and was thus enabled to cancel the 140 votes of the lowest classes, the fourth and fifth. The third or middle class thus held the balance of power, and as a rule it favoured the higher conservative element. The majority of centuries does not therefore necessarily represent the majority of citizens, the candidate elected is often raised to office by the vote of the minority, and the preponderance is still preserved for birth and fortune.

The second check by which the patricians could thwart and defeat the will of the people was effected by an alliance with the priesthood, whereby the all-powerful influence of religion was

introduced to wrest the victory from the majority. No nation lay more under the rule of superstitious fear than the Romans. No voyage could be undertaken or warlike enterprise entered on without consulting the will of the gods. Alike in the petty concerns of the individual and the great concerns of the state, the religious ceremony was an indispensable preliminary, and the victims were examined for favourable omens. So powerful was the priestly body, and so magnificent its endowments, that its members were largely recruited from the ranks of the nobles. The priesthood, therefore, from its social position and enormous wealth, constituted a powerful element in the state, and in times of crisis it used its authority on the side of patrician rule. The alliance of religion and conservatism is not an unusual one. At all times and under all forms of government we find the two forces working in unison with each other. Both are rooted in the past, cling to the long traditions of their earlier power, and give ground slowly and reluctantly to the Zeit-Geist, the innovating tendencies of their contemporaries. It was through this intimate union between the patrician order and that of the priesthood that the final effort was made by the higher classes to thwart the will of the people. When the tide of popular feeling ran high in favour of a candidate obnoxious to the nobles, the consul, who always supervised the voting, could stop the election by a previous understanding with the augurs.

The report from the augurs that the victims were unfavorable, that there were menacing signs in the sky, or that thunder had been heard in the distance, was sufficient to stay the proceedings. Turning gravely to the citizens with the simple words, "*alio die*"—"on some other day"—the consul stopped the election and dissolved the assembly.

Of all the elections that for the office of consul excited the deepest interest in the citizens and the keenest rivalry among the candidates. As the highest honour in the state, it called forth in the aspirants unwearied effort, the most subtle finesse, and enormous expenditure, to bribe and amuse the voters. Only those who had already distinguished themselves in the service of their country were qualified to be aspirants for the consulship. Access to it was as carefully guarded as the approach to an Egyptian temple through an avenue of sphinxes.

For fifteen long years must the apprenticeship last, during which the candidate must pass through the lower offices before aspiring to the higher. The Quaestorship was the lowest of the great offices and was regarded as the first step (*primus gradus honoris*) in the upward progress towards the Consulship ; then came the Edileship and next the Praetorship. Only extraordinary resolution and ambition combined with great wealth or great talents could hope to reach the goal. But if the candidate, supposing him a *novus homo* as Cicero was, through the force of his genius and of public favor, gained the coveted honour, he stood forth the foremost citizen in the whole world, the crown and fountain of all power, the chief citizen of the greatest and most glorious of all peoples. By his success he not only ennobled himself, but he threw lustre for all time to come upon his family, and along with himself he lifted up to a higher social position his friends and all connected with him.

Hence arose that passionate desire which carried the candidate through the long years of preparation for the crowning effort of his life. He founded the family by his success, and the tradition of his high office could not but clothe his descendants with splendor to the minds of a people amongst whom traditions had so much force.

We are fortunate in having preserved for us by a happy accident a detailed account of the measures to be taken by a candidate who wished to arrive at success. This is a letter written to Cicero by his brother Quintus, a restless but clever man, who was thoroughly versed in the politics of the day, and had carried many intrigues to success. His letter, to which he gave the name Candidate's Manual "*commentariolum petitionis*," was so highly esteemed by the great orator that he corrected it and at a later time had it published. Quintus had a genius for public life, and the words he applies to Aurelius Cotta might rather be applied to himself, "*in ambitione artifex*," a perfect adept in the art of canvassing. He elevated electoral strategy to the height of a science, and in its way the Candidate's Manual is almost as noteworthy as the *Prince* of Machiavelli. He reduces to a systematic body of principles the scattered practices of former politicians.

From the time of his election to the Quaestorship the candi-

date kept ever in his eye the crowning honor of the Consulship. In order to reach the higher position of Edile it was necessary to dazzle and amuse the people and thus secure their favor. The lavish shows with which a candidate brought himself before the notice of the people, were such as no private fortune could sustain without being exhausted. Hence each officer on being elected secured appointment in some recently conquered province, that he might be prepared to push his claims on his return. This explains in part the almost universal rapacity, cruelty and venality of Rome's representatives abroad. Cicero was one of the honorable exceptions. Most were of the type of Æmilius Scaurus, son-in-law of Sulla, who, while Edile and looking for the Praetorship, built a theatre at the cost of \$4,000,000, to hold 80,000 people, the first story of marble and the second of glass, decorated with 360 columns and 3,000 marble statues.

Curio, however, in lavish display surpassed even Scaurus. He had two theatres constructed back to back, in one of which comedies were played, in the other tragedies. In the evening, without disturbing the spectators, the two buildings moving on rollers were wheeled round to form an immense amphitheatre in which were exhibited combats of gladiators and wild beasts.

In order to win the favor of the people it was necessary also to approach them personally. Ample time was given to do this in the period elapsing between the filling of the Praetorship and suing for the Consulship. Between these offices two years must have elapsed. Says Quintus, "No corner of Rome must be neglected." Even the slaves must be approached. Their good will, though they have no vote, will not be without result. They can influence others. Any show of moroseness on the part of a candidate or disposition to avoid close contact with the voters was construed as an insult to the sovereign people. Hence Cato, who left the canvass to his friends, never reached the Consulship. And Servius Sulpicius, the great jurisconsult, the most eminent man of his day, and most worthy of high office, was compelled to sue for ten years, owing to his too great hauteur, though he won the Consulship at last through the admiration caused by his perseverance.

In order that the candidate clothed in white (*in toga candida*) might be formally announced as in the field he must on certain

days appear in the Forum and take part in a ceremony which was part of the official routine, namely, the *prensatio* or hand-shake. If a candidate does not enter heartily into the spirit of the practice it is all up with his chances for election. Not only must the candidate shake hands, but he must name the elector as well. Any manifestation of ignorance or hesitation to recognize an elector was most damaging. Following the candidate as his shadow was the *nomenclator*, whose business it was to know every one and to prompt his chief.

The election for consuls took place in July, although the successful candidate took office only in January. The votes were polled in the Campus Martius, between the Capitoline Hill and the Tiber. Thither repaired before daylight the consuls and their staff. Then, after sacrifices and prayers, the order was given by the presiding consul that the people should range themselves by their tribes and classes. Before the mass of the electors deposited their votes one century called the *centuria praerogativa*, selected by lot out of the nearly four hundred centuries, advanced to make its choice. This was regarded by a superstitious people like the Romans as an indication from heaven of the suitable candidate. All undecided voters followed the choice of the *centuria praerogativa*, and it was but seldom that a candidate was rejected if he was accepted by the *centuria praerogativa*.

It is interesting to compare the mode of voting as practised nowadays with the practice of Rome. There were no electoral districts such as now obtain. All Rome, which means the whole Roman world, voted in one place, and vast as were the numbers of the voters, the result was known before evening. Within a vast enclosure, fenced in by high wooden planks, and called ovile or the *sheep pen*, did the voters troop. There were as many entrances to the *ovile* as there were centuries. Between the entrance and the *ovile* stretched long passages called *pontes*, through which the voters filed one by one, and as they reached the inner extremity of the *pontes* they deposited their ballots. The aim of the *ovile* was to prevent an elector when once he had voted repeating the operation.

There the electors remained till the voting was finished, exposed to the rain and the sun. Julius Caesar had formed the purpose of building a magnificent structure of marble pillars,

with a roof and elegant porticos. Augustus brought his plans to completion, but with the rise of the empire passed away the rights of the people, and when a building was erected worthy of the state's highest functions there were no longer any voters to fill its courts.

As long as the plebeians by a long continued and patient struggle were raising themselves to a level with the patricians in their right to fill the highest offices of the state, the franchise remained comparatively pure. But when after passing from a monarchy into a patrician oligarchy, and then to an oligarchy of wealth—when the art of canvassing degenerated into the gentle art of bribery—Rome was ripe for Despotism, which did not long delay in coming.

Numerous laws were passed against bribery, but their very number shows their powerlessness to stay the evil. There was always some way of evading the severest measure. Candidates were forbidden to exhibit beasts and gladiatorial shows, but there was nothing to prevent one's friends doing so in his stead. Towards the end of the republic no one voted without being payed. The corruption was reduced to a regular system. It was lost time to bribe individuals, voters were purchased by centuries and tribes. It was necessary to deal only with the few leaders in each group. Thus the candidate had always at hand bands to attack an opponent, to drown a rival's voice when he gave a public address or to applaud the side they adopted. The leaders of these purchaseable groups were called *divisores*, and so open was the commerce between them and the candidate that they were publicly received by an aspirant and treated as men of consideration and importance in the community. The most honest citizens were compelled, unless they were willing to leave the state in the hands of miscreants, to resort to the same culpable means. The stern Cato, in order to prevent Caesar's election to the Consulship, furnished from his great wealth the means to Bibulus to oppose him. Cicero, with his easy-going conscience, defended in 699 the Consuls who had succeeded in gaining office by bribery. Because they were friends of Pompey he brought all his powers of oratory to bear and succeeded so well as to get them acquitted. But in writing to his friend Atticus, he mournfully says, "We have no longer any govern-

ment or Commonwealth. We have lost not only the reality of the laws, but even their semblance and shadow."

A people that surrenders its self-respect, and puts up its favor to public auction, is not worthy of freedom. Universal suffrage without universal education is an added menace to civilization—the knife in the maniac's hand. The Caesars are, therefore, the less deserving of censure in taking from the Romans the privileges of a suffrage which they only abused.

A. B. NICHOLSON.

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### THE TEACHING OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

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IT is obvious that in our already overcrowded courses in Classics and History no detailed treatment of this subject is practicable; it is equally obvious that no University can afford to neglect it altogether. Thus it is of great importance to discover the best method of employing the limited time at our disposal; we must either concentrate attention on a given period, or, if we attempt to cover the whole ground, must be content with a very general, not to say sketchy, treatment. This being so, it seems better to give the student a skeleton which he may hereafter clothe with flesh, rather than, so to say, to give him an exhaustive knowledge of the big toe, or even of the brain, of his subject; he will thus gain methods which may be used in future study, even if his actual knowledge is somewhat inadequate. As the late Principal of Glasgow says: "It is the province of the higher education to bring the mind, by the exercise of its own independent efforts, to the knowledge not of the net results of inquiry on any subject or class of subjects, but of the principles on which they depend, and of the processes which lead to them." This is especially so in the case of a subject in which there is really some chance of getting students to continue their work after leaving the University. The great majority of men who enter business or embrace one of the learned professions have neither time nor inclination to continue their study of the classics; but they do desire to pursue some course of reading, if only as a relaxation, and to such men History may be recommended, since it combines pleasure with profit and

may be studied with comparatively little loss by those who are familiar with the English language alone. The tendency of the present day is, no doubt, to specialise, and it is certainly true, as the Master of Balliol was never tired of impressing upon us, that the Universal apart from the Particular is meaningless. But, after all, specialisation can be overdone, even in the case of German Professors, much more in that of Canadian students. In reading too many modern histories we wander with parched throats amid endless deserts of arid detail, unrelieved by the smallest oasis in the shape of a generalisation. The Particular apart from the Universal is equally meaningless and much less interesting. Few things are more valueless than to study a portion of History while neglecting the period out of which it sprang, and that into which it developed. An outline, however bare, can always be filled in, but to begin with the detailed study of a period usually involves a permanent loss of perspective. As history is at present taught, Sicily and Carthage suddenly leap into the story of Rome full-grown, and in their armour, like Athene from the head of Zeus; the Gracchi flash before our astonished eyes like bolts from the blue; while the Hellenisation of the East, one of the most important developments in the progress of mankind, is often so utterly neglected that the student considers the Mithradatic wars as in some way a continuation of the Persian invasion of Greece. Of the great march of Ancient History, of the many streams which gradually converged into the universal Empire of Rome, until the City of the Seven Hills came to include among her citizens the whole population of the civilized world, he has usually a very inadequate idea.

It may be said that this elementary knowledge should be given previous to the entrance of the pupil into the University. But while none can deny that in many of our High Schools and Collegiate Institutes excellent work is done, they labour under several disadvantages. The text-book which has been forced upon them is full of such grotesque errors, and even where it is correct is so utterly sterile and unprofitable, that only an exceptional teacher can interest his pupils in the subject; and even if a proper text-book were provided, the High School is better fitted to stimulate interest by drawing vivid pictures of men and

events than it is to explain the tendency which those events illustrate. Any boy of average intelligence can be roused by the story of Marathon and of Cannae, by the career of Alcibiades or of Scipio, but, as Aristotle says, "the very young are incapable of understanding general ideas;" hardly in the University, certainly not before his entrance into it, is the average Canadian fit to penetrate to the inner shrine of history, and to see the stream upon whose surface the greatest man is swept helplessly along.

But I shall leave these general considerations, and attempt to give a more definite outline of a course which, though far from perfect, would at least be an improvement upon our present system. In the first place History should be taught systematically, and not in occasional digressions, however interesting. Lectures should be given at least once a week, in which on the one hand reference should be made to the historical authors who are included in the classical course; and which, on the other, would enable the classical professor to read those authors, from the literary and philological standpoints, instead of being compelled, as at present, to hover between different and often discordant points of view, to the no small disadvantage of both; a method which in another branch of the subject reaches its climax of absurdity by forcing us to read Aristotle as part, not of the Philosophical course, but of the Classical.

The lecturer should begin with some account of Homeric Greece, and of that brilliant Achaean civilisation which had its centre at Mycenae, and of which such interesting relics are still being discovered. Though we are in the dark on many points, we know for certain that from about the Sixteenth to the Twelfth Century B.C. a powerful race with many oriental characteristics held sway in the eastern part of the Peloponnesus, and that they were in close commercial connection with Asia Minor and with Egypt. Some passing reference should be made to the land of the Nile, which, though lying apart from the main stream of ancient civilisation, possesses a charm and a mystery which even Cook's excursions cannot stale. Passing rapidly over the Dorian migration, the planting of colonies in the eighth century, and the age of the tyrants, we come to the Persian invasion. Of this, and of the succeeding hundred years, a lengthy account is usually given; but it should

certainly be prefaced by some slight description of the successive empires which rose and fell in the fertile region between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and of the elaborate system of government built up by Darius Hystaspes, called by his subjects ὁ κάπηλος, the petty trader, but in reality one of the greatest organisers of ancient times. I may here suggest that as Ancient History becomes, as it is bound to do, more and more separated from the course in pure Classics, it should not remain solely in the hands of the Professors of Latin and Greek, but should comprise lectures on the Oriental monarchies by those who have the most intimate acquaintance with the subject. The triumph of Macedon is usually studied in some detail, but here the knowledge of most of us stops. Of the conquests of Alexander, of his far-reaching plans for the consolidation of his vast empire, of the kingdoms of his successors the Diadochi, the student of Honour Classics need know, and usually does know, nothing. Even in that part to which sufficient attention is paid, too much time is spent in narrating the long border scuffle of Athens against Sparta and Thebes, and too little in explaining the inner structure of the πόλις, that marvellous organism which even Aristotle, the tutor of Alexander, considered τέλος τῆς αὐτορχείας, the absolutely final and complete form of civic organisation. No man's welfare is enhanced, either in this world or in the next, by knowing who hoisted the shield from the walls of Athens after the battle of Marathon, or why Pleistoanax did not advance further than the Thriasian Plain, but it is of very great importance to know what form of government produced the greatest statesmen, poets and philosophers whom the world has known. It is the constitutional, not the political history of Athens which is of such great importance, though to a certain extent they are inseparable. In the hundred and fifty years which followed the battle of Salamis Athens passed from aristocracy through various stages of democracy to the rule of the city mob in its most absolute form. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the people were controlled by a great and philosophic statesman; in twenty-five years they had sunk so low that at the trial of the six generals the only man who dared to resist their desire for blood was met by the cry that it was "monstrous for any one to attempt to hinder the people from

doing whatsoever they desired." All through the fourth century this decay went on, and the triumph of Macedon, mourned over by so many, was really a glorious and benign necessity. At present we study it in the speeches of Demosthenes, and derive therefrom a wholly distorted view. We cannot refuse our admiration to the great orator; it is impossible not to wish that there had been another termination to the battle of Chaeronea, where the improved armour of the Macedonians and the superior generalship of Philip triumphed over the dogged courage of Thebes and the sprightly valour of Athens, and "the liberties of Greece were buried in the graves of the fallen." But it is equally impossible to refuse our sympathy to the Scotch Jacobites; and we must remember that the devotion of Demosthenes, like that of the Jacobites, was given to a lost cause and an outworn ideal. This is the really important point in the career of Philip; not the maze of intrigues by which he gained a footing in central Greece, over which so much valuable time has been wasted. Chaeronea was not "fatal to liberty;" on that hard fought field Greece died to live; the free city life of Athens passed away, and in so doing produced much fruit; the conquests of Alexander carried Hellenic civilisation over Asia to the banks of the Indus, and made easy the work done afterwards by Rome. To the student of Political Science Alexander and his successors, usually so neglected, are interesting because under them for the first time a *modus vivendi*—somewhat external it is true—was found between the city-state and empire. Alexander himself, and his successors, the Seleucids and Ptolemies, were great founders of cities, from which Greek culture flowed far and wide. Of Alexandria and of Pergamus most of us have heard, but it may surprise some to know that Kandahar and Tashkent owe their origin to the Macedonian conqueror.

Meanwhile in the west, under the presiding genius of Rome, the city-state was expanding in other directions. After a long struggle waged against enemies both within and without, the Republic became ruler of Latium, then of Italy, and then of the shores of the Mediterranean. In narrating this conquest much more attention than is now paid should be given to Carthage and to Sicily. While we are lamentably ignorant of the great Phoenician colony, yet from our fragmentary knowledge of its opulence, its grisly religion, and of the long political struggle between the peace-loving merchants, and the ambitious House of Barca, a fascinating and instructive picture could be drawn. One or two lectures should be given to Sicily, the great outpost of Greek civilisation in the west. Events now move quickly. Masters of the civilised world, the Romans were confronted in its acutest form with the problem which

Alexander, if he had lived, would have had to face, that of reconciling empire with liberty. How vast that problem is Englishmen and Americans who have a consciousness of their birth-right do not need to be told. Cicero, whose career would be more intelligible if his readers would bear in mind that a man may be a social parasite and yet a true and even devoted statesman, had but the most superficial insight into its difficulties ; Caesar saw it, and solved it by cutting the Gordian knot. And yet, though Rome sacrificed liberty to empire, she found a not wholly inadequate substitute for it in the elaborate system of municipal organisation which she devised and perfected. Thus, whereas Athens had proved unequal to her task, and Alexander had found but a superficial solution, Rome succeeded in widening her bonds till "civis Romanus" and "citizen of the world" became synonymous. The possession of Roman franchise was the boast of every free man, from the snows of the Grampians to the desert sands of Africa, from the Loire and the Dordogne to the Tigris and the Euphrates ; the Roman genius for compromise succeeded in enlarging the city state, while yet retaining its essential features, until the Gallic poet of the fifth century could say :

Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam,  
Profuit invitis, te dominante, capi ;  
Dumque affers victis patrii consortia juris,  
Urbem fecisti quod prius Orbis erat.

(Out of many nations thou hast made a single country ; that which was once a world has now become a city.)

Thus the many rivers end at last in the great sea. "To the historian Rome must ever be the central city of this earth. Rome is the true microcosm." (F. Harrison.) It is true that even this reconciliation was in the end found imperfect. The municipal system gradually changed from a blessing into a curse ; the Roman stock wore itself out ; all the horrors of the barbarian invasions were not too heavy a price to pay for the infusion of fresh blood into the exhausted civilisation of Europe. The rulers of India are still toiling at the same problem which perplexed Alexander and Octavian, and unless like Froude we take counsel of despair, and declare that no solution can be found, we cannot do better than study the record of their partial successes and final failure.

I have omitted in this sketch much that is of interest. The lecturer would be compelled to speak, however briefly, of the vast system of municipal government built up by Rome, and of the cruder but not less interesting fabric devised by Athens, with its curious medley of family, social and religious ties ; nor could he neglect the Gracchan agitation, which shows so clearly the

results of absentee landlordism, the problem of large estates versus peasant proprietorship, and which proves to all time the folly of violent and hasty legislation based on abstract principles, even when the principles are in themselves sound, and the evils which cry for remedy are flagrant and admitted by all thinking men. Many such points will occur to the most casual student; but what I have tried to illustrate is the necessity of seeing each period in relation to that out of which it sprang and that into which it developed. The Gracchi were not isolated portents, but the products of the wars of the previous century, and of the social conditions which these had brought about; while both the social reformers and the demagogues of the next century look back to them as to their fathers after the spirit; Sulla was produced by the inevitable recoil from the blatant democracy into which the Gracchan zeal for reform degenerated; everything was what it was because of something else; no one link in the chain can be separated from the others. Even if the glance which we are allowed at the great stream of tendency be but fleeting, such a glance is far better than to content ourselves with analysing the animalculæ contained in a few buckets of water drawn almost at random. As well try to judge of a house from a specimen brick as attempt to understand History, whether ancient or modern, by studying a few isolated periods.

W. L. GRANT.

### THE ALUMNI CONFERENCE.

The programme of the seventh Conference, which begins February 13th, 1899, at 3 p.m., is as follows:—

#### MONDAY.

3 p.m.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets. Prof. Cappon. Discussion led by Professor Dyde and John Marshall, M.A.

8 p.m.—The relation of the pulpit to political and social life, and to the press as the principal exponent of modern life. Papers by Rev. D. C. Hossack, LL.B., and John Cameron, Esq., Editor *London Advertiser*. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Thomas, Peck, Currie and Thompson.

#### TUESDAY.

10-12 a.m.—Isaiah and Micah. Paper by Rev. W. G. Jordan. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Hutcheon and J. R. Fraser.

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship. Professor Watson on “Philo and the New Testament.”

3 p.m.—The Church in the 4th century. Prof. Glover. Discussion led by the Rev. Herbert Symonds. (Read *The Arian Controversy* by Gwatkin.)

4.30 p.m.—Business meeting of the Conference.

8 p.m.—The outlook for the Canadian nation. Rev. S. G. Bland. The message of the Church to Canada and the Empire. The Principal. Discussion led by Professors Shortt and Goodwin, and N. R. Carmichael, M.A.

## WEDNESDAY.

10-12 a.m.—Prophecy in the 7th century B.C. Paper by Rev. A. Laird. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Houston, Moore and Jordan.

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

3 p.m.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets. Prof. Cappon. Discussion led by George Mitchell, M.A.

8 p.m.—The new Anthropology and its bearing on the work of the Christian preacher. Papers by Rev. Dr. Begg and Rev. Dr. McTavish. Discussion led by Rev. John Millar and Prof. Ross.

## THURSDAY.

10-12 a.m.—The Prophet Jeremiah. Paper by Rev. John Millar. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Neil McPherson, W. G. Jordan and S. G. Bland.

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

3 p.m.—The Church in the 4th century. Professor Glover. Discussion led by the Rev. H. Symonds.

8 p.m.—Ritschlianism; paper by Rev. Mr. Scott. The History of Christian Doctrine to the Council of Nice; paper by Rev. John Hay. Discussion led by Rev. Messrs. R. Laird and R. J. Craig. (Books to be read: Ritschl's *Instruction in the Christian Religion*. Harnack, vol. I.)

## FRIDAY.

10-12 a.m.—The Psalter, Books IV and V. Rev. Dr. Milligan. Discussion led by Rev. Messrs. McGillivray and James A. Grant. (Book to be read: *The Origin of the Psalter*, by Cheyne).

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

3 p.m.—The Church in the 4th century. Professor Glover. Discussion led by Rev. H. Symonds and R. Laird.

8 p.m.—The relations between Legislation and Morality. Paper by A. Haydon, M.A. Discussion led by Professors Shortt and Dyde.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

**T**O the ordinary Briton the Frenchman has always been more or less of an enigma. The Frenchman, on the contrary, quite understands the Englishman. He is a crass blockhead, to whom Fortune, with singularly bad taste, has taken a fancy.

To the stolid male Anglo-Saxon the Frenchman seems to be particularly womanish. He is gossipy, fickle, excitable and, in crises, hysterical. He is unable to conduct a calm and sustained argument on any vital question. However high the plane on

which the discussion opens, it is apt to descend rapidly to personalities, bad names, incoherent rage and affairs of honour. In their anger the distinction between Frenchman and Englishman is particularly noticeable. When in a passion the Englishman stamps about swearing with shocking coarseness and virulence; the Frenchman gesticulates wildly, rapidly becomes incoherent, and finally dissolves in tears, bereft of utterance. Major Marchand, of Fashoda fame, assures his countrymen that on learning of the Dreyfus affair and the slur cast upon the army, he and his companions burst into tears and were unable to speak to each other for a day and a half. Quite possibly they were not so severely affected, but it is significant that such an expression of feeling was considered highly proper and patriotic. But the most important characteristic of all, as affecting the national and political stability of France, is the tendency to exaggerate the personal element in every affair, public or private. "Measures, not men," was a prominent maxim of English political life in the eighteenth century, not now so commonly heard because less needed. In France practice exemplifies just the opposite maxim, hence the French have never been able to crystallize their political life round definite principles, or confine themselves to two strong political parties, the only machinery by which a responsible parliamentary system can be managed. France is always at the mercy of the hero of the hour. As in Athens of old, the great man must either be made absolute ruler or banished the country. What has oftenest saved France in the past century, and may save her again to-day, is the rarity with which she produces the masterful mind in public life. The French Revolution itself was a series of *coups d'état*, separated by personal despots ending with that of Napoleon. In recent years we all remember the Boulanger episode, and now we have the Dreyfus affair, on quite a different plane it is true, but equally personal from beginning to end. Though originally a minor public matter, yet from the personal fascination in it we find it now with such an enlarging vortex that the army, the courts, the government, and even the constitution are being dragged into it. What will be the ultimate outcome of this affair depends more upon the personal qualities of one or two individuals than upon the political system or any broad basis of national stability.

The French temperament being what it is, the Fashoda incident presented several features of peculiar danger to the peace of the world, and exposed a lack of wisdom on the part of a number of British politicians and a section of the British press. By a conjunction of events unfortunate for France, the Marchand expedition arrived in the Soudan just at the wrong moment. France, it is true, had been

warned off from that region, but the warning rested upon a very questionable basis, which Lord Salisbury afterwards wisely permitted to lapse, once he had secured a really valid one. Britain herself has not often paid timorous respect to such warnings. By conquest the whole of that southern region had undoubtedly been lost to Egypt for more than thirteen years. The title of the Mahdi and his successors to the country was as good as that of any European power to the greater part of its colonial empire. If, then, France could capture and occupy part of that territory, it would have been very difficult for England to prove a better title; and it might have been excusable for her able editors and newer diplomacy statesmen to rage after the manner of the heathen or of her disappointed rivals as matters actually turned out. But before France had been able to establish her claim, England, wearing the mask of Egypt, had utterly demolished the ruling power, and, by direct right of conquest, succeeded to the whole domain. By this stroke the only possible basis for a French claim had become England's, and to the French was left the barren satisfaction of finding a cathartic expression for their feelings. That the British need not have grudged them.

Finding themselves in a very awkward position without any valid excuse for maintaining it, the question for the French government was simply this, How can we retreat without sacrificing the national honour in general, the honour of the army in particular, and the sensibilities of the people as represented by their various organs of utterance? The French government, itself, occupying no very stable position, naturally temporized, shuffled, and quite generally sparred for wind. The French press, largely of a sensational and irresponsible character, recognizing the opportunity of doing some grandiloquent patriotic writing, and incidentally earning an honest penny, launched out with a largeness and vigour that promised a rapid exhaustion of the new vein which had been opened. But while the French might be expected to cover their retreat in this fashion, the British had no occasion to reply in their equivalents. All that was required of Britain was a calm, dignified and firm statement of her position, with an insistence on the unconditional withdrawal of the French expedition, followed by a polite, patient, but steady refusal to recede from that position. The public contributions of Sir William Harcourt and Lord Rosebery, as representing the Liberal party, were at once timely, dignified, and in keeping with the policy just outlined as showing that the nation was a unit in the matter. But the threats and bluster with which a portion of the responsible British press assailed France, and the public utterances of Mr. Chamberlain, Sir

Michael Hicks-Beach, and the belated effort of Sir Ed. Monson, ambassador to Paris, were worse than uncalled for. They added no weight to the British position, but rather weakened it, while they were particularly galling to the French national pride, which is abnormally sensitive. They gave a welcome excuse to the theatrical French journalists to goad their jaded muse to further hysterical efforts to inflame the public. These are the incidents which will undoubtedly rankle in the French mind when the main incident has been forgotten, and will be cherished for revenge at some future opportunity.

Despite the warnings and protests of a numerous and exceptionally intelligent section of the American people,  
U. S. Imperialism : Economic. the United States seems to be pretty definitely committed to a policy of territorial expansion. That the world will gain in consequence is certain, not because the imperialists are the wiser, more capable, or more philanthropic element, but because the burden of ensuring the establishment and preservation of a tolerable if not ideal administration of the new dependencies, will fall largely upon the shoulders of the section which is now protesting vigorously against the assumption of the national burden. Whether the United States itself will benefit to any great extent is much less certain. Economically the direct and immediate result will be the expenditure of millions of wealth with little or no return. In time, however, the opportunity which will be afforded for the fuller development of these richly endowed regions, through the establishment of a stable government and the protection of legal rights, will lead to the production of far more wealth than will be expended by the United States government. What proportion of that return will go to American citizens and what to others is quite another question. It is a much-disputed point in England itself as to whether she has gained or lost, from a purely economic point of view, by her colonial expansion. As regards direct returns she has doubtless lost ; but taking indirect returns into consideration she has unquestionably gained. Her gain lay in the joint stimulus and outlet afforded by colonial expansion particularly in the two typical regions of America and India. England was drawn out of herself, her latent energies were stirred and new fields were opened for her capital investments. Once fairly launched, however, British enterprise forgot the flag and roamed the world a free lance. Her trade and capital called for protection from the home government only where local protection was not good, and here is the explanation of all Britain's recent expansion. In those parts of her empire where Britain still controls the fiscal system she holds her economic advantage only as she holds it in the rest of the world, save Canada, by proving her superiority in

a free field. At the same time her free ports afford valuable markets to the rest of the world, so that Britain's gain is the world's gain also.

I have said that Britain's modern colonial expansion has been undertaken chiefly for the purpose of giving security to investment and trade, and in that sense only does trade follow the flag. If, now, the United States will aid in this good work by undertaking the task of giving a strong and stable government to the well endowed but frightfully mismanaged Spanish colonies, the advantage to British trade and capital will be practically as great as though Britain herself held them, while she will escape the burden of governing and defending them. The situation simply reduces itself to this: The United States becomes for the world administrator of the late Spanish colonies, and in return for the outlay involved gets a position of added importance in the world's council and in her own eyes. The profit to private and corporate enterprise in the new field will, however, go to that nation which can best take advantage of the opening. While the whole commercial world will have its share, yet, considering the recent growth of American industry and the stimulus to commerce which the mere sentiment of extended empire will give, the indications are that the greater part of the West Indian trade and a large share of the Philippine trade will fall to the Americans, while the lion's share of the new capitalist investment will belong to Britain. It may be marked that Britain's interest in the world is becoming more that of the investor than of the simple trader, hence the close community of interest between Britain and the United States, the rising commercial power. Another interesting feature of the economic situation is the effect likely to be produced on the internal economic policy of the United States. Notwithstanding the strong protectionist ideas of the present administration and political majority, it appears that the opposite policy is to be adopted with reference to the new possessions. This strange inconsistency is the more remarkable since the millions expended, partly in conquering, partly in purchasing the colonial empire would seem to afford conscientious protectionists an unanswerable argument in favour of making the colonies directly profitable to the mother country. They do not even pay Canada the slight compliment of copying her preferential tariff idea. Some day, however, when the Americans wake up to the necessity of binding the empire more closely together, they may recognize the wisdom of our course, and by tariff manipulation wisely prevent ourselves and the rest of the world from alienating the commercial affections of their colonial empire. Meantime very subtle argument will be required to justify the policy of the open door abroad and the closed door at home.

Of quite another character is the question as to the political and social effects upon the Republic of the new U. S. Imperialism: <sup>Political.</sup> imperial policy. In this respect the experiment upon which the United States is entering will be watched with the greatest interest by all students of politics theoretical or practical. That the Americans will ultimately succeed, though not without blunders by the way, there is not the slightest doubt. A country which has tried so many social and political experiments, and scored so many successes, in addition to surviving so many failures—the great majority of experiments being failures—is not going to make shipwreck of itself over a new attempt at administration outside its own borders. Its national machinery, however, is fitted for domestic not for imperial service. In the system of territorial administration applied to the newer parts of its own country, it has but the rudiments of that new administrative system which must be framed for the dependencies. In this new field the Americans already recognize that they must closely study British models; though they will find there no exact parallels to their own problems. As regards the natives to be dealt with the example of India will be instructive; while in the case of the colonial Spanish element they have much the same problem as the English had in French Canada or themselves in Louisiana. In studying these situations they will find as much to avoid as to imitate. That an important section of the American people is prepared, with a due sense of responsibility, to attack these problems in an honest and painstaking spirit is already evident. Whether the administration of the new regions is entrusted to competent hands or not, the results will be subjected to an intelligent and searching criticism which is bound to have its effect in the long run. We must not, however, overlook the danger that a certain line of criticism is likely to be more independent and conscientious than wise. Much of Britain's colonial administration is anything but righteous when judged from the standpoint of the domestic non-conformist conscience. It violates many sacred notions as to the fundamental rights of man, but it is a much more successful administration and in the end commonly more humane, if less self-consistent, than many intermediate forms of British rule having much more of the home ideal in them but not the home results.

In sending out their colonial officials the Americans must not permit any copies of the Declaration of Independence, or any similar literature, to be included in their baggage. All those beautiful idealizations of American democracy, whether in prose or verse, whether delivered from Fourth of July barrel heads or thanksgiving pulpits, must be reverently if they like but firmly placed in the background, for they have no longer to deal with

that noblest product of humanity, the American amalgam, but in the language of the pious Bishop Heber, they are going

"Where every prospect pleases,  
And only man is vile."

In fact, the unwisdom of sending as governors ignorant but well intentioned philanthropists could only be exceeded by sending mercenary and conscienceless political bosses. But the drawing of the American national life out of its self-centred absorption may greatly stimulate self-discipline. It was England's colonial experience in its reflex action which did more than anything to raise British political life from the stagnant corruption of the eighteenth century to its present condition. So we may hope that the new factor introduced into American poltics may serve to rouse the nation to a higher sense of responsibility and give an increased range to that wise and independent criticism of their own political and social life to which an increasing number of the better element have lately given expression.

Notwithstanding the high position which Canada is supposed to hold in the British Empire it is worthy of notice that, with the exception of the two great Canadian Capital railroads and the national, provincial and civic borrowings, but little interest is taken in the Canadian field for investment by the English financial papers. The chief of them, *The Economist*, which treats so fully of Australian, New Zealand, African, Indian and South American affairs, and has its weekly letter from the United States and the leading countries of Europe, rarely refers to anything Canadian, and then usually in a sharply critical vein. As a matter of fact Canada has not been the grave of more private British capital than several of the other important colonies. But while the others have balanced their failures by a number of brilliant successes Canada has been the scene of several monumental failures and no striking success. The G.T.R. alone, with over one hundred and fifteen millions of dead loss to the British investor, has long been a colossal spectre warning off all but the most adventurous. Many other promising enterprises in the same line, including the Tupper ship railway, in mines, lands, factories, etc., might be given which have resulted in the flattest and most unromantic failures. This experience being so common, many Canadians have come to regard the loss of British money in the country in a very matter-of-fact way accompanied by the soothing reflection that England is such a rich country that it will never feel it. England may indeed survive, but Canada in the end suffers much. Those who have gone to England to float Canadian enterprises know how well the skilled British investor has laid the Canadian experience to heart. But while the regular money market is hard to tempt

with Canadian ventures there is a miscellaneous and ill-informed investing public in Britain which, notwithstanding the experience and information at their disposal, is remarkably gullible, as the Balfour, Barnato and Hooley careers amply testify. A favourite system of commercial finance with Barnato and Hooley and their imitators may be summarized as follows: A central company is first organized with varied and indefinite powers, some of which it may attempt to work out. But its chief function is to float a series of secondary companies to take over and work up particular sections of its own field. A considerable portion of the shares of each dependent company is retained by the promoting company as its share of the profits, and the remainder is offered for subscription to furnish the capital for the enterprise. But the chief bait for the unwary is that, in offering shares for subscription, the shareholders of the organizing company are given a preference, which usually produces the desired impression that the prospects of the new company are so good that its promoters desire to retain as much as possible of its stock. The privileged shareholders take stock liberally, not to hold of course, but to sell at the enhanced price produced by their carefully planned anxiety to secure the shares. Now we are sorry to observe that several corporations of this nature have been organized to operate in Canadian mining regions. It is observable, too, that the front pages of their prospectuses are decorated with names, the commercial value of which, as bait, the gifted Mr. Hooley thoroughly appreciated. The skilful manipulation of Mr. Ogilvie in connection with another company is a further instance of the ability and enterprise which go to the making of a modern prospectus, and which are too frequently found nowhere else in the undertaking. The extent of Mr. Ogilvie's indiscretion in this particular instance has yet to be learned. There is little, however, in the recent resurrection of British interest in Canadian investments to justify our self-congratulations that we have at last lived down the past reputation of the country and that the British capitalist is about to give us his well-founded confidence.

As the above goes to press there comes to hand the last number of *The Economist* with the first of a series of articles on the mines of British Columbia by its special mining commissioner. We shall refer again to the interesting impressions made upon this independent expert; suffice it to say that his first letter quite confirms the impression given. British Columbia, he finds, has much mineral wealth, but "the English floated British Columbian companies to date are a poor selection."

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## JULIAN.

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*οἵον με εἰδες τοιοῦτον καὶ γράψον.* Julian, *Epistle 65.*

ONE of her most illustrious sons has called Oxford the home of lost causes and impossible beliefs, and whether this be true or not the possibility of its being true is not the least of her charms. For it is one of the amiable traits in man's nature to love what is old for its own sake. Our affection for progress is not always utterly disinterested, but the love of the past is the purest of passions. And we are so made, or many of us are, that we love the old the more because it is the lost cause. It may be a weakness, but it is a gentle weakness. Yet it is apt to mislead us, as great passions do, and we sometimes allow age and defeat to obscure in our lost cause or our fallen hero features that would repel us in a triumph. Thus in some measure has it come about that there is a kindly feeling for Julian beyond what his worth really merits, and it is reinforced by the malignity and hatred with which ecclesiastical writers have, or are supposed to have, pursued his memory. The tradition grew that he was a champion of reason and enlightenment against the crudity and darkness of Christianity, and indeed these words are practically Julian's own. But the reason and enlightenment of which he thought and wrote would have seemed to many who have admired him for their sake as crude and foolish as the dogmas of the Church against which he protested.

The Julian of the eighteenth century is, after all, as far removed from the truth as the monster drawn by theological spite,

and interesting as both may be as creatures of the imagination, the real Julian is more interesting, because, as is often the case with real people, a more complicated character. He mocked at Moses and blasphemed Jesus, but he was not a free thinker. He was hated as a persecutor, though again and again he declares his wish and his intention to maintain religious freedom. Many rulers have upheld religion, very few have been so deeply conscious of divine guidance or so utterly dependent upon it as he. For most men the religion of Christ seems to supply the closest, the most vital and the most absorptive communion with the divine; to some it has seemed to draw too much upon faith. But Julian decided it was a cold, an external thing that cut a man away from heaven and left him godless in a godless world. For some it has been a divine alchemy transmuting everything it touched to gold. For Julian it did the reverse, and for the gold of Homer and Plato offered the lead of Matthew and Luke. It was a blight upon the Greek spirit which had given life to the world for a thousand years. We can now see that this Greek spirit had died long since a natural death, but the Greeks of Julian's day fondly hoped it was living in them still, and Julian voices the horror with which they began to feel the chill of death and the natural, if rather irrational, hatred they felt for what they supposed to be its cause.

"Draw me as you have seen me," wrote Julian to a painter. In one way this is easy to do, for few men have ever let mankind see into their inmost feelings as he did; but it is difficult, too, for the atmosphere in which he lived was not ours, and many things look strange to-day which were not felt to be unnatural then. Zeus and Athene are not now, and we can only with difficulty conceive them ever to have been for thinking men, even with all the generous allowances philosophers might make, a possible alternative to Christ. Yet are they stranger than Krishnu and Kali? Is it not possible to-day for a man to halt between two opinions in India, and find in the philosophy or theosophy of thirty centuries of Hinduism an attraction which may outweigh Christianity? When we think of the age of Julian we must never forget that the Brahmo-Somaj exists to-day.

The fourth century saw the last great persecution of the

Church end in failure, and the new religion recognized and honoured by Constantine. With him a new spirit came into the Roman Empire. Hitherto so long as a man did a loyal citizen's duty, the State did not intervene to regulate his belief. But now Constantine, weary of the civil disorder the Arian quarrel made at Alexandria and then communicated to other places as the infection spread, called a council of the Church and invited them to decide what the Christian faith was, and he would then see to it himself that there should be no more quarrelling about it. He was, however, disappointed, for the quarrels went on, and when he died in 337 they were still unsettled. Whatever might have been Constantine's own religious position, his son's was clear. Constantius carried to the inevitable halting place the theory that a man's belief is the State's concern. He did not aim at reconciling the factions for the sake of concord, but at converting them all to his belief. His aim was that of Justinian or Henry VIII—to dictate to his realm what it was to believe. This affected Christians at once, and signs were not lacking that the heathen ere long must in their turn be Arian, Semi-Arian or Nicene, as the ruler might require.

Constantine left behind three sons and a number of nephews and other relatives, but whether the deed was the army's, done to secure "the seed of Constantine"—a phrase a man might conjure with at this time—or whether it was the work of Constantius, this great family was thinned down, and the sons of Constantine were left to rule the world alone. Two only of their cousins survived, the sons of their father's half-brother, Gallus and Julian. Gallus was thought to be so ill as to render murder unnecessary, and Julian was so small—six years old—as to be overlooked. It was a dark beginning for a life, like "the unspeakable tale from some tragedy" rather than the record of a Christian house, and Julian lays the guilt on Constantius, "the kindest of men." (*Ep. Ath.* 270 C.) In later days Constantius, who had a conscience too, looked upon his childlessness as Heaven's criticism of his deed, but it did not keep him from wishing to add Julian to the list of the slain.

Julian was left to the care of his kinsman, the great Semi-Arian Bishop of Constantinople, Eusebius of Nicomedeia,\* and

\*Amm. Marc. xxii, 9, 4.

of a eunuch Mardonius, who had been his mother's tutor. Some have tried to lay on Eusebius and others of his party the blame of Julian's Hellenism, but this seems unjust. Great ecclesiastical statesmen have rarely, perhaps, the leisure to teach little boys, and whatever leisure and inclination Eusebius may have had to teach Julian, he died when his charge was nine years old. Mardonius had been reared by Julian's grandfather and was a faithful servant who watched well over the boy. He had a passion for Homer and Greek literature\*, and when the lad would ask leave to go to races or anything of the kind, the old man would refer him to the 23rd of the Iliad and bid him find his races there. To him Julian may have owed in some measure his life-long love of Homer. Thus from the nursery the old order had laid its charm upon him.

A sudden edict from Constantius removed his two cousins to a rather remote place in Cappadocia. Macellum has been described as a castle or a palace. Very probably it was both. Julian makes out, when he is attacking Constantius' memory, that there he and his brother were shut off from schools, companions and training suitable to their age and rank (*Ep. Ath.* 271), but from another source we learn it was a place with a magnificent palace, baths, gardens and perpetual springs, where he enjoyed the attention and dignity his rank deserved, and had the literary and gymnastic training usual for youths of his age. (Sozomen V. ii, 9.) Of course he would have no noble companions save his brother, but this was inevitable. Constantius seems to have meant to keep them in reserve, out of his way and safe from plotters who might make tools of them, but still available and properly trained in case of his needing them himself. Later on it was easy to represent these years at Macellum as bleak exile.

As to Gallus, Julian says that "if there were anything

\*For Mardonius see *Misopogon*, 352 A. He was a Hellenized Scythian, and perhaps it was in some measure due to him that Julian was so entirely out of touch with Latin literature, but the Greek sophists with whom he consorted were of one mind in neglecting Latin. If *Epistle 55* be written from Gaul or the West, as I think, we have Julian's views on the tongue half his Empire used—almost his only allusion to Latin—playful no doubt:—τὰ δὲ ἔμπν, εἰ καὶ φθεγγοίμην Ἑλληνιστὶ, θωμάζειν ἀξιων· οὕτως ἐσμέν ἐχθρούς αὐτομένοι διὰ τὰ χωρία. Constantine, on the other hand, addressed the Nicene Council (mainly Eastern and Greek-speaking Bishops) in Latin, but when presiding over the debates he intervened in Greek. (Euseb. *Vita Constantini*, iii. 13.)

savage and rough that afterwards appeared in his character" (and it seems generally agreed that there was a good deal) "it developed from this long residence in the mountains." Whether Gallus would have done better in Constantinople is very doubtful. Nero, Domitian and Commodus do not seem to have derived much benefit from the polite atmosphere of Rome. For himself, "the gods kept him pure by means of philosophy,"\* and this, I think, implies teachers, for boys seldom originate in philosophy, and in later life Julian's views were mostly borrowed.

From Macellum Gallus was summoned to be made Caesar by Constantius, to govern Syria in true tyrant fashion, to rouse the Emperor's ill-will, to be recalled and put to death. Julian later on tried to make political capital out of his being put to death untried, but from the pages of Ammianus Marcellinus we learn that whether tried or not (and those were not the days when political offenders were over-nicely tried), Gallus richly deserved his fate.

The suspicions of Constantius extended to Julian, and for some time he was kept at court under his cousin's eye and within reach. But the Empress Eusebia was his friend and reconciled her husband to him, and got leave for him to live in Athens. For this Julian was always grateful to her memory.

Julian had spent six years at Macellum, and since then had moved about Asia Minor with some freedom attending the lectures of great teachers of the day. Some he was forbidden to hear, those who knew him evidently not being impressed by any great stability in his character. He now went to Athens† and revelled in his opportunities of meeting there men whose acquaintance he counted among the best gifts of life. We have a picture of him drawn by his fellow-student, Gregory of Nazianzus,‡ which has been described as "a coarse caricature," but which, nevertheless, seems to me not unlikely to be fairly true if a man's nature does reveal itself in look and gesture. Julian's own writings give us the impression of a fidgetty, nervous tem-

\**Eph. Ath.*, 272 A.

†An interesting study of students and professors in the Athens of Julian's day will be found in Mr. Capes' *University Life in Ancient Athens* (Longmans). He brings out the connexion between the city government and the "University," which explains Julian's addressing his manifesto in 360 "to the Council and People of the Athenians."

‡Cited by Socrates, *E.H.* iii, 23, 18.

perament, and his admirer, Ammianus, tells us a number of stories which betray a want of repose. Gregory in Athens remarked (or says he remarked) a certain changeableness and excitability in him, beside a rather loose-hung neck, twitching shoulders, a rolling eye, a laugh uncontrollable and spasmodic, a spluttering speech, and an inability to stand or sit without fidgetting with his feet\*. All these signs seem to point one way, and if we realize that his temperament was restless, effervescent and emotional, and his training had not been of a kind to correct his natural tendency to be nervous and erratic, we may find less difficulty in explaining the variety of his religious opinions.

He enjoyed the student's life, but he was to be called away from it. The exigencies of the Empire had compelled Constantius to associate Gallus with himself as Caesar, and the fact that Gallus had been a failure did not alter the situation. Julian was the only available person to fill his place, and Constantius, with some constitutional hesitation and reluctance, made him Caesar and sent him to Gaul to free the country from German invaders. It was an honour Julian could have done without, and as he drove back to the palace in his purple robe he kept muttering to himself the line of Homer (*Il.* 5, 83) :

ελλαζε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ ωῖρα χραταχή.

Him purple death laid hold on and stern fate.

The story, told by Ammianus (xv. 8), sums up the situation. The scholar is dragged from his study to be invested with the purple, which had been his brother's ruin and may be his own as easily, if a eunuch whisper it at the right moment to the suspicious Constantius ; and he cannot draw back, for stern fate wills it so, and all that the purple means is that he will die with less leisure for the development of his inner life.†

So "torn from the shades of academic calm," Julian was plunged "into the dust of Mars"‡ in Gaul, at first with but little direct responsibility. For this he was very angry with Constantius, though at the time he could say nothing, and he believed (or it was said so) that it was a matter of indifference to the Emperor whether he slew the Germans or the Germans slew

\*Sir William Fraser tells us Disraeli's one mark of nervousness as he sat in Parliament was a restless crossing, uncrossing and re-crossing of his legs.

†Amm. Marc. xv, 8, 20 : *nihil se plus adsecutum quam ut occupatio interiret.*

‡Amm. Marc. xvi, 1, 5.

him, for in either case the Empire would be freed from menace.\* But, as Sozomen points out, if Constantius had merely wanted to kill Julian, he could have done it without marrying his own sister to him and putting him in so conspicuous a position. Constantius indeed loved to keep things in such a way as to be able to have both of two mutually exclusive alternatives but it was surely not strange or outrageous of him to entrust only a little power to begin with to an untried man. As Julian proved himself worthy of more power, and his colleagues shewed themselves unfit for it, Constantius gave him more, till he had supreme command in Gaul. After his wont, however, he surrounded Julian with creatures of his own and withdrew from him almost his only friend in the provinces, the trusty Sallust.

It was not to be expected that Julian would be successful as a soldier, but he was. Indeed a modern critic has said with some justice that it was only as a soldier that he was great.† He was popular with the soldiers, for he would share their privations and he led them to victory. He won the regard of the Gauls by ridding them of the Germans, and by reducing the land tax about 70 per cent., and he had the respect of the Germans, for he could beat them in battle and keep his word with them when his victory was secure. His ambition was to be like the Emperor Marcus Aurelius,‡ and though a very different man, he did attain to a certain likeness to him by dint of honourable devotion to duty and the cultivation of the higher life.

He was too successful in Gaul to retain the good-will of Constantius, and the wits of the court amused themselves with jokes about the "goat" (in allusion to his beard), the "purple monkey," and the "Greek professor,"|| and with darker insinuations that must ultimately mean death for him. Constantius grew nervous, and as war with Persia was imminent, sent to Julian to demand a considerable number of Gallic troops. Unless Ammianus has made a slip in his dates, there was not time enough for the men to reach the seat of war to be available for

\* Zosimus (iii, 1) puts this very amiable suggestion into Eusebia's mouth !

† Boissier *La Fin du Paganisme*, i, 138.

‡ Amm. Marc., xxii, 54. An ambition avowed likewise by Diocletian. (*Hist. Aug. M. Antonin.*, 19). —

|| Amm. Marc., xvii, 11, 1. *Capella non homo—loquax talpa—purpurata simia—litterio Graecus.*

the campaign. Whether they were really wanted for the war, or the order was sent merely to weaken Julian, it was a blunder. He could reply that Gaul could not safely be left without them in view of the Germans, and the troops could say, and did say, that the terms of their enlistment exempted them from service so far from home.\* Julian wrote and the troops mutinied, and exactly what Constantius was trying to prevent occurred. The soldiers hailed Julian Emperor. He was reluctant, but without avail. They raised him aloft on a shield, and crown him they must and would.† It is interesting to note that, a crown not unnaturally not being forthcoming, Julian rejected the first two substitutes proposed, a woman's gold chain and some part of a horse's trappings, but submitted to be crowned with a soldier's bracelet (360 A.D.)‡

The fatal step was taken, but it is characteristic of the Roman Empire, though neither of the men was strictly Roman, that though civil war was inevitable, each should go on with the work he had in hand for the state. Sulla had not returned to deal with his enemies in Italy till he had crushed Mithradates. Negotiations, if such they can be called, went on for a while, till in 361 the two Emperors marched against each other. They never met. Happily for everybody, Constantius died on his march, and all Julian had to do was to have him buried.

Julian was now sole Emperor, and could at last freely avow the faith he had held in secret for some years and openly proceed with the religious reformation he intended to effect. He could plead the precedents of Constantine and Constantius for his attempts to remould the belief of his subjects, and his first step was to recall the Nicene bishops his predecessor had banished and to proclaim toleration for all religions.

Before following out the steps of his reformation, it will be well to study his own mind and learn if possible how he came to change his faith, and what he found in Hellenism that Christianity could not offer.

One of the watchwords or catchwords of the Antiochenes

\*Amm. Marc. xx, 4, 4.

†Cf Sulpicius Severus *Dial II* ( I ) 6, 2. *Magnum imperium nec sine periculo renui nec sine armis potuit retineri.*

‡Amm. Marc., xx, 4, 17. *primis auspiciis non congruere aptari muliebri mundo.* The whole affair shews a German rather than a Roman tone prevalent in the army.

with which they annoyed Julian was "Chi and Kappa"—the initial letters of Christ and Constantius, and it has been suggested that this same association had helped to drive Julian from the Church, that Christianity suggested merely Constantius and was hateful accordingly. But I do not think that this is reason enough, if reason at all, for his change of faith. Julian was a man of emotions, so that it is possible that such an association may have influenced him, but we hardly find a trace of it in his writings or his letters. He would have us believe that from boyhood he had been devoted to King Sun, but this need not mean much. No one likes to appear inconsistent, and if we change our minds we are apt to try to find some underlying unity which shall transform a right-about face to an ordinary and natural development. The Church historians tell us (and I see no reason for rejecting their testimony because they are Church historians) that Julian was at one time a reader in the Church, that he was devoted to the martyrs and had some notions of monasticism. It is easy, no doubt, to say these statements are not true, but it does not disprove them. The explanation given by their authors is that he affected all this zeal as a cloak. Certainly on the eve of marching against Constantius he celebrated Epiphany in a Christian Church,‡ to secure Christian support presumably, but I do not think we should explain his early Church views by making the charge of hypocrisy. From all we can see of him it is clear he had a deeply religious nature, and it is surely against all probability to suppose that it was entirely dormant till he attained the light which Hellenism offered. Rather is it likely that his early Christianity should be fervid, that he should have a passion for the martyrs and feel a peculiar unction in doing his semi-clerical duty as a reader. How came he to change?

We have seen his early training in Greek literature and the effect it had upon an enthusiastic nature. It was with him as

\*Julian *Misopogon*, 357 A.

†Socrates *e.h.* iii, 1, is a long chapter devoted to Julian. A large part of the book (iii) concerns him. Similarly Sozomen's bk v comprises the story of Julian, and though not perhaps equal to Socrates, contains some important original matter. Theodore (iii, 28) is a lighter weight.

‡Amm. Marc., xxi, 2, 4. *Ut omnes..inliceret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fingebat..5..feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam sollemniter numine orato discessit.*

with many a good bishop, an abiding possession. It was not considered inconsistent for a Christian to be a master in it, in fact one of the bitterest complaints Christians made against Julian was that he attempted to shut them off from it. Still it is a factor in the case. Then he had had some training in philosophy, in Plato no doubt. When in 349-50, the years of seclusion at Macellum were ended, and he was free to choose his teachers with one or two exceptions, he was about nineteen years of age, well read in the literature of ancient Greece, and possessed with a passion for the Greeks of the great days, such as, perhaps, no one to-day can feel, unless his ancestors were Jacobite Highlanders. It was a romantic, a sentimental enthusiasm, and therefore superior to reason. Now he met a man whom we may not improperly call his evil genius, the theosophist Maximus of Ephesus. Hellenism did not produce many martyrs, and an attempt has been made to beatify Maximus to fill the gap, but the true charge on which he was put to death, on which, too, Christians were often enough put to death, was magic\*. Magic may seem to us a harmless thing if foolish, but to the Roman government it generally connoted political disaffection.

There is a fascination for some minds in the occult, and Maximus had evidently a magnetic personality. The stories vary as to whether Julian hunted him up or he Julian. It is not improbable that they mutually attracted one another. Maximus at once got an influence over his pupil that time made stronger, and to the end of his days Julian had for him a deep affection and as deep a respect, almost an awe.† To most minds it is inconceivable what attraction Buddhism can have for the Western and yet Madame Blavatsky made and kept converts, and her influence was apparently as potent after her death as in her life. Maximus in like manner completely fascinated Julian, and Julian's enthusiasm for Church work vanished in the glow of a new faith. The fervent Evangelical and the ardent agnostic not unfrequently make the most fervent and ardent of Catholics. The old religion was not extinct, it had still a thousand glorious traditions that linked it to all that was great in the past, it was

\*Amm. Marc., xxix, 1, 42. The context implies that it was a political case.

†His public attentions to Maximus annoyed Ammianus, who sums them up as *ostentatio intempestiva.* xxii, 7, 3.

reinforced by the syncretistic philosophy of later Greece, which blended the thought of Hellas, the mysticism of the East and the ritual of Egypt in the most charming of mixtures, and in Julian's day it might seem stronger, larger and richer than ever before, especially if the believer willed to believe, as Julian did. His Christianity had been sincere, if emotional merely, and his conversion was genuine, if it too rested chiefly on the emotions. He had communion now with Mithras and the gods, he had the consciousness of being their prophet and of resting on their support, and after all was clear by the death of Constantius, he might freely indulge in the most delightful celebrations.

It will be of interest to read in his own words what his religion meant for him. He had gone to Athens already a Hellen in heart, and thence he was summoned to Milan, to be made Caesar eventually, though this was not quite clear at first. "What floods of tears and what wailings I poured forth," he writes to the Athenians,\* "how I lifted up my hands to your Acropolis, when this summons came to me, and besought Athena† to save her suppliant and not forsake me, many of you saw and can testify; and above all the goddess herself, how I asked that I might die there in Athens rather than face that journey. That the goddess did not betray nor forsake her suppliant, she shewed by what she did. For she led the way for me everywhere and set around me on every side angels (or messengers) from the Sun and Moon to guard me. And it befel thus. I went to Milan and lived in a suburb. Thither Eusebia used often to send to me in a kindly spirit and bid me boldly write for whatever I would. I wrote her a letter, or rather a supplication, with language of this nature, 'So may you have heirs, so may God give you such and such, send me home as soon as possible ;' but then I thought it might not be safe to send such a letter to the palace to the Emperor's wife. So I besought the gods by night to shew me whether I ought to send the document to the Empress. And they threatened me with a shameful death if I sent it. And

\*See note on p. 249.

†The hymn of Proclus to Athena is an interesting parallel. He prays Athena of the Athenian Acropolis for mental light, forgiveness of sin, freedom from disease, a fair gale on the voyage of life, children, wife and wealth, oratory and eminence ( $\pi\rho\sigma\delta\rho\varepsilon\gamma\nu\ \delta'\ \dot{\varepsilon}\nu\dot{\iota}\lambda\mu\dot{\iota}\zeta$ ). Proclus, it may be added, was the philosopher of the 5th century A.D., who won the proud title of  $\dot{\iota}\ \delta\dot{\iota}\dot{\alpha}\dot{\iota}\dot{\delta}\dot{\alpha}\dot{\chi}\zeta$  the successor i.e. of Plato!

that this is true I call all the gods witness. So I refrained from sending the letter. From that night a reflection came to me which it is, perhaps, worth while you should hear. Now, said I, I am thinking of resisting the gods, and I have thought I could better plan for myself than they who know all things. Yet human reason looking only at what is present is lucky if it can just avoid error for a little....but the thought of the gods looks afar, nay, surveys all, and gives the right bidding and does what is better ; for as they are authors of what is, so are they of what will be. They must then have knowledge to deal with the present. For the while, my change of mind seemed wiser on that score, but when I looked at the justice of the matter I said, So you are angry, are you ? if one of your animals were to rob you of your use of itself, or run away when called—a horse, perhaps, or a sheep or a cow—and yet you yourself who would be a man, and not one of the many or the baser sort either, rob the gods of yourself and do not let them use you for what they would. Look to it that in addition to being very foolish you are not also sinning against the gods. And your courage, where is it ? Absurd ! You are ready to toady and cringe for fear of death, though you might cast all aside and trust the gods to do as they will and divide with them the care for yourself, as Socrates bade, and do what concerns you as best you can and leave the whole to them, hold nothing, catch at nothing, but accept what they offer in peace. This I considered not merely a safe but a fitting line of conduct for a wise man...and I obeyed and was made Caesar." (*Ep. Ath.*, 275-7.)

Ever thereafter he walks by faith, trusting the gods to look after him. While in Gaul he wrote two panegyrics on Constantius—a fact which distresses some of his admirers, but he could not help himself. He is not exuberant in them, and yet he is able by his art to make us feel more kindly to his cousin than he did himself. But I refer to them because beside doing his duty as a citizen by his ruler, he yields to his besetting temptation which clung to him through life, and preaches. In the second panegyric he says, "The man, and still more the ruler, all whose hopes of happiness depend on God and are not blown about by other men, he has made the best disposal of his life." (*Or. ii*, 118D.) In a very undisguised homily he wrote in Gaul on the

Mother of the Gods, he gives thanks that whereas he was once in Christian darkness he is not now\*. When Constantine recalled Sallust, Julian consoled himself with another homily: "Perhaps the god," he says, "will devise something good; for it is not likely that a man who has entrusted himself to the higher power should be altogether neglected or left utterly alone." (*Or. viii.*, 249). (We do not always allow enough for the awful loneliness of a monarch or of one in Julian's position, yet it must be considered in estimating them). "It is not right" he goes on "to praise the great men of old without imitating them, nor to suppose that God eagerly ( $\pi\eta\thetaύμως$ ) helped them but will disregard those who to-day lay hold on virtue, for whose sake God rejoiced in them."

He feels that in a very special sense he is the chosen vessel of heaven. In his myth in his seventh oration the conclusion of a very easily-read riddle is that he, the least and last of his house, is directly chosen by the Gods to restore the old faith. In his letter to Themistius he accepts the rôle of a Herakles or a Dionysus, king or prophet at once; he feels the burden more than man can bear, but neither desire to avoid toil, nor quest of pleasure, nor love of ease shall turn him away from the life of duty. He fears he may fail in his great task, but counts on aid from the philosophers and above all commits everything to the gods.

In the moment, perhaps the supreme moment of his life, when the soldiers sought him to hail him Emperor, he tells us he was in his chamber—and thence I prayed to Zeus. And as the noise grew louder and louder and all was in confusion in the palace, I besought the god to send a token, and forthwith he sent a token (he quotes a word or two from the *Odyssey*)† and bade obey and not resist the will of the army. Yet, though these signs were given me, I did not readily yield but held out as long as I could, and would accept neither the title nor the crown. But as one man I could not prevail over so many, and the gods who willed this to be urged them on and worked upon my will, so about the third hour, some soldier tendering his bracelet, I put it on with reluctance and went into the palace, groaning from

\**Or. v.* 174B.

†But he does not say what the token was—the line of Homer (*Od. 3, 173*) merely illustrates his request and its gratification. It was believed at the time that the philosophers by the aid of magic and theurgic rites had not unfrequently such manifestations.

my heart within as the gods know. And yet I ought, I suppose, to have been of good courage and trusted to the god who gave the token, but I was terribly ashamed and wanted to get out of it in case I should seem not to have been faithful to Constantius." (*Ep. Ath.*, 284C).\*

Elsewhere, in the *Misopogon* (352 D), which is not like the letter just quoted a manifesto of the date of his revolt, he uses the same language. "This office the gods gave me, using great violence, believe me, both with the giver (Constantius presumably) and the receiver. For neither of us seemed to wish it, neither he who gave me the honour or favour, or whatever you like to call it—and he who received it, as all the gods know, refused it in all sincerity. Again writing his uncle Julian (*Ep.* 13) he says, "Why did I march (against Constantius)? Because the gods expressly bade me, promising me safety if I obeyed, but if I stayed, what no god would do.....so I marched, trusting all to fortune and the gods, and content to abide by whatever pleased their goodness." Before he started he "referred all to the gods who see and hear all things, and then sacrificed, and the omens were favourable." (*Ep. Ath.*, 286D.)

This is the language of the Puritans, and men have called Cromwell a hypocrite because he openly avowed his faith in the guidance and control of Providence in the several steps he had from time to time to take in his difficult task of guiding the Commonwealth. The same may be said with about as little justice of Julian. It is curious that the last thing some critics of history and politics can believe in is sincerity, and yet it is the key to the characters of more than Cromwell and Julian.

As prophet and as chief priest of his religion Julian had to take practical measures for its maintenance and propagation. He saw at once its weakness. The old faith, which he rechristened Hellenism, fell short of the new at once in creed and conduct. Three centuries of Christian experience and thought had built up a body of doctrine, point by point tried and proved, and the Christian could rest on the rock of the Church. The heathen had no dogma, no certainty. This philosopher said one thing,

\*The same kind of plea, however, was made twenty years later by the tyrant Maximus to St. Martin. (*Sulp. Sev. vita Mart.* 20.) *se non sponte sumpsisse imperium sed impositam sibi a militibus divino nutu regni necessitatem defendisse et non alienam ab eo Dei voluntatem videri, penes quem tam incredibili eventu Victoria fuisse.*

and that another, and every man could choose for himself and be uncertain, solitary, a lonely speculator, when he had chosen.\* Hence the Church was stronger than her adversaries. To meet this difficulty Julian conceived the great idea of the Holy Catholic Church of Hellenism. All the great philosophers conspired to witness to the truth ; all said, if rightly understood, one thing. By dint of a little confusion, a little judicious blindness, one might believe this. As a substitute for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, he had a great superstructure of universes, and one or two gods proceeded from the great original τὸ ὄν, ὅλος or ὁλὴ εξ ὅλου. The Sun played a great part in all these speculations, "for whom and by whom are all things."† The Jews were dragged into the wondrous fabric, for they, too, worshipped the great Supreme, though clannish narrowness made them exclude the other gods.‡ What exactly was the place of these other gods it is a little difficult severally to determine, but his system of Divinity had but a very few years to grow in and must not be inspected too closely. His homilies were generally "knocked off" in two or perhaps three nights, "as the Muses can testify." They ramble and digress and leave us confused. But the great thing was that Hellenism had a system of Divinity and all the philosophers bore witness to it. If it were a little abstract, it was not after all for the common people. This was a fatal weakness, but it could hardly be helped.

In the second place there was no doubt in Julian's mind that his new Catholic Church suffered from disorder, and from the careless lives of its adherents. He tried to organize his priesthood and to improve its morals. He is most emphatic on their sacred character, which he means to make others respect, and which the priests would do well to respect themselves. He writes them charges like a bishop,|| lecturing them on their

\*Of Lucian's *Hermotimus*, a great part of which may be read in Mr. Peter's English in *Marius the Epicurean*.

†For the adoration of the Sun compare the hymn of Proclus (412-485 A.D.) e.g. l. 34.

εἰκὼν παγγενέτῳ θεῷ, φυγῶν ἀναγωγεῖ,  
κέχλυθε καὶ με κάθηρον ἀμαρτάνος μὲν ἀπίσης, κτέ.

‡Julian seems always to have been very friendly toward the Jews, and endeavoured at one time to rebuild the Temple for them, but the design fell through, baffled by the accident or miracle of fire and earthquake. See *Ep.* 25, a striking letter, and *Ep.* 63.

||E.g. *Ep.* 49, from which I have taken some of what follows.

social deportment and on their sacred duties. They must not frequent theatres, nor read erotic novels, nor infidel books like the works of Epicurus ("most of which the gods, I am glad to say, have allowed to perish"); they must speak and think no unseemly thing. Their families must be orderly and go regularly to the temples\*. Their sacred robes are for temple use, for the honour of the gods, not to flaunt in the streets. Decencies must be observed in temple service. The magistrate or officer within temple walls is as any other man. He is annoyed when men applaud him in a temple;† there they must adore the gods and not the Emperor. Again, the Galilaeans (for so he calls the Christians) beside influencing people by their sober lives gain great influence by their hospitality to the poor and the wayfarer, and to counteract this Julian ordains great guest houses and provision for their maintenance that Hellenism, too, may win men by its charities. Above all things he preaches holiness. All service done in holiness to the gods is alike acceptable‡.

One thing was wanting. When this life is done the Christian Church offers a sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection. What had the Catholic Church of Hellenism to bid against this? No more than the shadowy hopes of Socrates and Plato. In one place (*Fragm. Epist.*, 300) he writes hopefully: "Consider the goodness of God who says he rejoices as much in the mind of the godly as in purest Olympus. Surely we may expect that he ( $\pi\acute{a}ντως \eta\mu\acute{a}n o\acute{u}tōs$ ) will bring up from darkness and Tartarus the souls of us who draw near to him in godliness? For he knows them also who are shut up in Tartarus, for even that is not outside the realm of the gods, but he promises to the godly Olympus instead of Tartarus." This sounds very familiar and with a word or two altered might be a passage from a father of the Church. The Catholic Church of Hellenism was not above borrowing from its rival. As he does not date his letters we cannot tell whether this or another letter (37) represents his final view. There he writes to a friend to say he wept to hear of the death of the friend's wife, but here is nepenthes for him

\*He was highly annoyed to find that the wives and families of some of his priest preferred the churches. Sozomen v. 16.

†*Eph.* 64.

‡Some of his ideas are curious: funerals by day dishonour the Sun (*Eph.* 77)  $\epsilon i\zeta \delta\nu \pi\acute{a}n\tau a \chi\acute{a}i \dot{\epsilon}\xi \delta\nu \pi\acute{a}n\tau a$ .

as good as Helen's. Democritus of Abdera told King Darius, who was sorrowing for his queen, that he could raise her from the dead if he would write on her grave the names of three that never were in mourning. "But if you cannot, why weep as if you alone know such a sorrow?" The same story, or one very like it, is told of Buddha, but its comfort is a little cold.

Julian's relations with the Christian Church remain to be discussed. To an erring priest he wrote (*Ep. 62*) that he would not curse him, as he does not think it right, for he remarks that the gods never do it. It was only consistent with such a temper not to persecute, and he sedulously maintains that he does not and will not. But, says Ammianus\*, when on the bench he sometimes asked litigants their religion, though it never affected his decisions. While all creeds were lawful, he felt it only right to give higher honour to the true faith and its adherents. Any other course would be dishonouring to the gods.† But, of course, this was not persecution. When he recalled the exiled bishops, when he made the Catholic restore Novatian churches, when he coquetted with Donatists, he was only carrying out a liberal measure of toleration. No doubt, but the English Non-conformists have never felt specially indebted to James II. Men said, heathen men said, Julian recalled the exiles to kindle anew the flames of discord.‡ When he made bishops restore heathen temples they had destroyed, they called out on persecution; they, too, had consciences and might destroy but could not build up heathenism. So far, perhaps, no one could say Julian was strictly unjust. But when the mob of Alexandria rose and slew George the bishop, all he did was to write a letter of gentle rebuke—they ought not to have broken the law; they should have trusted to him and justice; but for Serapis' sake and his uncle Julian's he would forgive them (*Ep. 10.*) Indeed he seems to have been less anxious that no more bishops should be killed than that none of George's books should be lost (*Ep. 9, 36.*) When bishop Titus of Bostra wrote to inform him of his efforts and his clergy's to preserve the peace, he wrote to the people of Bostra and put an unpleasant construction on the bishop's letter and invited them to rid themselves of him. (*Epp. 52.*) But of

\*Amm. Marc. xxii, 10, 2.

†*Ep. 7.* προτεμᾶσθαι μέντοι τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς καὶ πάνυ φῆμι δεῖν. . .

‡Amm. Marc. xxii, 5, 4, is very explicit about this.

all men Athanasius roused his special hatred. He had in virtue of the decree of recall returned to his see of Alexandria. Julian wrote to the Alexandrians in March, 362, to say he had never meant to recall the bishops to their sees; it was enough for them not to be in exile; Athanasius, who has been banished by so many decrees of so many Emperors, might have the decency to wait for one restoring him to his so-called episcopal throne before boldly claiming it to the annoyance of pious Alexandrians; he must now depart (*Ep. 26*). When Athanasius dared to baptize some Greek ladies instead of going into exile, Julian wrote in October of the same year peremptorily ordering his removal (*Ep. 6*). A month or so later he had to write again, for he had miscalculated Athanasius' influence in Alexandria. He is surprised and shocked at the Alexandrians, but they may trust him, for he knows all about Christianity after twenty years of it, and now he has been following the gods twelve years. Still if they will not be converted, there are other possible bishops beside Athanasius, whom he banishes from the whole of Egypt (*Ep. 51*)\*. The great bishop was not concerned. "It is but a little cloud and will pass," he said,† and went into hiding in Alexandria itself, and in less than a year the little cloud had passed away and he was free again.

It may be said that nothing very terrible has been mentioned as yet, and perhaps it was not going too far when he cancelled all the immunities and exemptions granted to the clergy by Constantine and Constantius, though if he did (as alleged‡) compel widows and virgins to refund grants made to them in past years, he would seem to have been a little too exacting. But a zealot, whose principle is the equality of all sects and the preference of one, stands in slippery places. The Syrian historian in his Life (or libel) is highly indignant about this robbing of the Churches. Western indignation was greater on another score, as we shall see. The great old centre of Christianity in Syria was Edessa, and the Arian Church there gave Julian an opportunity by its attack on the Valentinians, which he gladly seized. He confiscated the Church property by an edict, assigning as one of his

\*He concludes with a flout at Athanasius' person—μηδὲ ἀνήρ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀθρώπιος εὐτελής—which, if a little unnecessary, still reveals one side of his own character.

†Sozomen v. 15. 3.

‡Sozomen v. 5.

grounds “Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven.”\* This may have been rough and ready justice, but the next step to which I refer was oppression of a most irritating kind.

It is a strange thing, perhaps, in view of the general carelessness about education, that a government has only to incur suspicion of playing with it in the interests of one or another religion to arouse ill-will. Of all acts passed to worry the English Nonconformists, none angered and alarmed them so much as that of Queen Anne's reign, which checked their educational freedom. In the same way Julian roused the Church to fury through the western world by a rescript forbidding ancient literature to Christians. It was in more ways than one an unhappy thing for his new Catholic Church that the real Catholic Church was devoted to the old literature. In the east Christians read Homer and Plato, and in the west they steeped themselves in Virgil and Cicero, and in both east and west they were a match for the heathen in all things pertaining to a liberal education, more than a match, for there is a marked difference in general between heathen and Christian writing of the day. This was unfortunate for Julian, for it disproved one of his theories—that the Galilaeans were illiterate and barbarous and divorced from that ancient world which meant so much to all educated people. If his theory had been right, his policy was absurd and unnecessary; but he bears witness against himself, that Christians are not without a share in the old culture. He realized in fact that they valued it so highly that they would not give it up. Accordingly he enacted† that whereas a man cannot teach aright what he believes to be wrong, and whereas it is highly desirable that those who teach the young should be honest men, and it is incompatible with honesty for a Christian to expound the poets, orators and historians of old who held themselves (Thucydides‡ among them, it seems) sacred to the gods while he himself believes in no gods, henceforth it is forbidden to

\**Eph.* 43. *ἴν' εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν εὑοδώτερον πορευθῶσι.*

†The Decree may be read among his Letters; *Eph.* 42. Without citing Christian testimony, it is enough to quote the opinion of an honourable heathen, Ammianus, *obruendum perenni silentio.* (xxii, 10, 7.)

‡On the other hand, Dean Stanley (*Eastern Church.* Lect. i, p. 123) says, “Along the porticos of Eastern Churches are to be seen portrayed on the walls the figures of Homer, Solon, Thucydides, Pythagoras and Plato, as pioneers preparing the way for Christianity.” We may wonder which character would have most surprised Thucydides.

Christians to teach ancient literature unless they first prove in deed their honesty and piety by sacrificing to the gods. This edict was to produce one or both of two results, either young Christians must grow up without classical education, which was not likely to be their choice, or they must go to the schools of heathen, who would if they did their duty give them a bias toward Hellenism. Probably Julian was thinking of his own youthful studies, but heathen teachers were not all alike and were not in general propagandists. The immediate result of the decree was that some of the most famous teachers of the day threw up their profession. Then came a strange phenomenon\*. A father and son, both called Apollinaris, set to work and made a new Homer out of the Pentateuch, and a Plato out of the Gospels. It has been suggested that the Christian people admired these works, but from the synchronism of their disappearance with the death of Julian it seems that Socrates, the most admirable of Church historians, is representing the common view when he applauds them rather as products of enthusiasm than as literature. If the Apollinares failed of fame as authors, the younger, the Gospel Platonist, made his mark in Church History as an independent thinker, though the Church did not finally accept his views.

Such, then, was Julian's religious policy, but what was its success? Was society with him? It might be expected that the hour for a reaction had come, and there were certainly a good many heathen left. The philosophers, whose spirit he had caught, and the nobility of the city of Rome, with whom he had no relations, were ready to welcome a return to the old ways. But Julian was at heart a Greek, leaning eastwards, and had not much support in Italy, while the philosophers, after all, were out of touch with the world at large. It must be confessed that the reaction was not very spontaneous; it was an attempt to galvanize a revival by the *fiat* of a ruler, and though there was an appearance of life about it, it was not living. Julian has to confess (*Eph.* 49) that Hellenism does not yet thrive as he would like to see it, but the fault does not lie with the gods, but with their worshippers. The heathen were past revival. They might resent being forced into the background by the Christians,

\**Socrates*, iii, 16, 1.

but they only wished to live in quiet as they pleased. They had no mind for martyrdom, and almost as little for Julian's violent revivalism. They would not be regular in attendance at temples, they did not care to sacrifice very much, and in short they would make no efforts for their religion. True, the mob enjoyed breaking Christian heads\*, and creatures of the court affected conversion and a quickened life, but Julian was hardly pleased with either. He had practically no converts from among the Christians—none of any weight. Hecebolius, a rhetorician, came over, to return to the Church promptly on Julian's death. A bishop, Pegasius, who seems to have been a pagan at heart under his episcopal robes, now avowed his faith or unfaith.† But whether regarded from the heathen side or the Christian the revival was a failure.

Julian's reign was short (361-363), and we think of him chiefly at Antioch‡. He was received there in 362 with enthusiasm, for the heathen element was not small, but the pleasure-loving populace was no more to be influenced by Julian's exhortations to a godly, righteous and sober life than by Chrysostom's twenty years later. His attempt to transform Daphne from a pleasure resort to a shrine again was a ludicrous miscarriage. A martyr, Babylas, had been buried there by none other than the Emperor's own brother, Gallus, and before a martyr Apollo was mute. Julian ordered the "dead body" to be removed, and it was removed by a great procession singing, "Confound be all they that serve graven images."|| One of the singers was arrested and tortured, so angry was Julian, but only one; for his constancy shewed what might be expected from others, and Julian resolved to "grudge the honour of martyrdom."

**His revivalist failure was aided in Antioch by his blunders as**

\*Theodoret (iii, 6) gives a lively picture of heathen processions—"Corybanting" through the streets (*λυττῶντες καὶ χοροβαντιῶντες*) and abusing the saints. He adds the information that they got as good as they gave, without much advantage to public order.

†See Ep. 78, a very interesting letter, for this curious person.

‡See Amm. Marc. xxi, 9, 4. *Videre properans Antiochiam orientis apicem pulcrum* (here speaks the Antiochene)...*in speciem alicuius numinis votis excipitur publicis, miratus voces multitudinis magnae, salutare sidus illuxisse eois partibus adclamantis.* But was it a good omen that he should arrive just when the women were wailing for Adonis?

Theodoret, iii, 10.

an economist.\* He was massing forces there and prices rose in consequence. It had been a good season and everything was plentiful, and the mob did not understand how prices were so high, and greeted the Emperor with the cry, "Everything plentiful, everything dear." Anxious to win applause, for his admirer Ammianus says he ran too much after cheap glory,† he summoned the leading citizens and gave them three months to find a remedy. When none was forthcoming, he lowered the price of grain by an edict, which had the surprising effect of driving it out of the market. Then he fetched grain himself from the Imperial granaries and sold it at his own price, and the dealers reappeared as buyers. Altogether he affected nothing but the irritation of every class, and jokes about making ropes of his beard were bandied round the city.‡ He had made himself ridiculous at once with his corn laws, his sacrifices, his mob of court philosophers (instead of Constantius' court bishops), his homilies and his pietism. He was not very tactful always,|| and he lacked ballast, and his virtues won him as much ill-will as his foibles. With the best intentions, the purest motives, and the highest character, he had made Antioch thoroughly hostile, and the world over his reformation was producing disorder and ill-will. He now wrote a "satire" on Antioch, which he called "The Beard-Hater" (*Misopogon*), perhaps as undignified a production as was ever penned by a monarch.§ Under cover of shewing up his own faults, he lets out all his spleen at the Antiochenes, till one is really sorry to see so fine a man giving way to such littleness. The final jest of Antioch was superb. Felix, an officer of high rank, and Julian, the Emperor's uncle, had recently died, and the populace went about shouting *Felix*

\*For this story see *Misopogon*, 368 C; Amm. Marc. xxii, 14, 1; Socr. iii, 16, 2; Soz. v, 19, 1.

†Amm. Marc., xxii, 14, 1. *popularitatis amore*; xxii, 7, 1. *nimius captor inani gloriae*.

‡Amm. Marc., xxii, 14, 2, gives some other jokes—none very brilliant. Julian, it seems, was a "monkey-face," with a goat's beard and the walk of Otus and Ephialtes.

||He confesses to being *λυλίστερος*. Ep. 68.

§Socrates iii, 58, complains not unjustly τὸ δὲ ὀνυσόρεων η̄ σκώπεων οὐχέστι φιλοσόφου ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ βιοτέλεως. Ammianus, an Antiochene, is not at all pleased with this production of his hero. (xxii, 14, 2.) A keen, almost acrid, humour ran in the family, Constantine being noted for his *εἰρωνεία*, etc. (Socr. i, 9.)

*Julianus Augustus\**—a *double entendre*, which must have been doubly exasperating for being strictly loyal. Julian finally left the city, vowing he would never see them again—a vow which was grimly fulfilled—and taking a cruel revenge on his enemies by setting over them a governor well known to be oppressive.<sup>†</sup>

Rid of the city, he was back in the camp, where he had won his early successes, and where his real greatness could shew. The long-standing quarrel with Persia was to be settled at last, and Julian would do what Constantius had played at. Sapor had three times besieged Nisibis and had been ravaging Roman territory too long. Julian set out on a punitive expedition. One or two letters written by the way survive—one telling of a little address on Hellenism he gave at Beroea to the city council, convincing, he regretfully adds, but very few, and they were converted already (*Epb.* 27.) If the expedition was not very richly blessed with triumphs for Hellenism, it was in other ways more of a success. The Persians were thoroughly cowed and their land laid waste, till an unfortunate act of rashness altered the look of things. When he had gone as far as he meant and was outside Ctesiphon, the capital, Julian was induced to believe that the fleet of vessels which had escorted him down the Euphrates was of no further use, and to avoid its falling into Persian hands he gave the fatal order to burn the ships, only to realize at once, but too late to save them, that it was a blunder. Even so the retreat might have been free from disaster but for an accident. The Persian cavalry harassed the army on its march, and in one of the frequent skirmishes Julian was fatally wounded. He was carried to his tent, and there he died after some final words to the friends about him.<sup>‡</sup> He surveyed the principles that had guided him in life, care for his subjects' good and trust in the wisdom of Providence. He had sought peace, but when duty called to war he had gone to war, though he had long well known he was “to die by iron.” His life had been innocent, his conscience was at rest, he had only thanks to the eternal divinity for the manner of his departure. So he died, an

\*Amm. Marc., xxiii, 1, 4.

<sup>†</sup>Ammianus (xxiii, 2, 3,) actually says Julian remarked *non illum meruisse sed Antiochenibus avaris et contumeliosis hujus modi judicem convenire*. On any other authority the story might seem doubtful.

<sup>‡</sup>Amm. Marc. xxv, 3, 15.

irreparable loss to the Empire\*, for his successor in the months of his reign did more harm than decades could repair, and if the world had rest from Julian the preacher, it might well regret Julian the soldier.

A word or two must be given to Julian's writings, which reflect his personality in a striking way. His style was moulded on great models† and is formally good. The effect is marred, however, by a tendency to digression and afterthought, and a finikin concern for side issues. It was not to be expected that he could help being didactic ; he had a mission, and in season, and sometimes out of season, he is pleading and exhorting. His three panegyrics, two on Constantius, the third on Eusebia, roam off into discussions on education, true kingliness, books and so forth.‡ His other five so-called orations are really treatises, two theological on the Sun and the Mother of the Gods which are far from clear, three moral. Of these three two deal with the Cynics and are a little wearisome in their fault-finding. The eighth is addressed to himself—a series of reflections to console him for the loss of Sallust.

His letters fall into two classes, the elaborate polite type consisting of a quotation, a compliment, and perhaps an invitation, many of them addressed to philosophers, the others of a practical character, some of them edicts, some letters on religious thought and life, some friendly and intimate. Three long letters stand apart, those to Themistius and the Athenians, and one which is fragmentary, and these shew him at his best and most serious. They give the clearest picture of his manliness, his purity and piety—of the intense seriousness and dutifulness of his nature.

His elaborate work against Christianity can only be pieced together from the fragments quoted by Cyril, but it may not be a great loss, for we can see in others of his writings that he

\*It may be urged that had he lived his policy would have made within the Empire disunion more than enough to outweigh the loss of the provinces under Jovian. Possibly, but the fact is unaltered that his death was highly unfortunate coming at that moment, and we do not find that the persecutions of other heathen Emperors were so unhappy in their results as those of certain Imperial heretics. Still we must realize that his early death was at least happy for his name.

†He observes fairly well the Demosthenic canons about hiatus, and the concurrence of short syllables. More probably he followed his teachers.

‡Here one wonders whether he may not have digressed of set purpose to avoid dealing with his subject.

was not at his best when he mocked. Two other books remain, "the Misopogon" and "the Caesars." Of the former I have spoken. The latter is humorous with an underlying seriousness. There is a banquet of the gods at which the Caesars are in turn subjected to criticism and a select few are bidden set forth their ideals. While Julius and Constantine might, perhaps, complain of their treatment (the latter particularly, as self-indulgence does not seem to have been his aim), Marcus Aurelius carries the day, for his theory of life was "the imitation of the gods." The piece concludes with a burlesque view of Christian baptism, and an announcement by Hermes that Mithras the Sun God has chosen Julian for his own.

The general effect of Julian's life was to prove how dead a thing heathenism was. His Hellenism was not the old religion, it was a blend of various philosophies with a large admixture of Christianity. It testified at once against Greek philosophy, Greek religion and Greek morals. The philosophy led from nowhere to nowhere, was a jumble of everything, with nothing in the long run to rest a life on. The religion was worse, a vacuous and external thing of ritual, trance and superstition. The morals were uninspired. To reinforce all Julian borrowed from the faith he hated—borrowed partly consciously, as when he conceived of the Catholic Church of Hellenism, but largely unconsciously, and there, perhaps, he shews more conspicuously the strength of the Church. Of all attempts made by Roman Emperors to crush the Church, his was the best conceived—he alone realizing that to crush without offering an alternative was impossible, and the alternative he did offer was the best then conceivable. He saw, as others had not seen, that it would be easier and more satisfactory to convince than to force men, and though events seemed trending to the use of more force as time went on, the fact remains to his credit that he at all events began by repudiating it. Yet, however much we may honour him for his great gifts, his honourable conceptions and his spiritual life, the fact remains that he failed as men fail who build without foundation. The conclusion to be drawn from his failure seems to be that a religion which is merely morality touched with emotion, will not fill the human heart.

T. R. GLOVER.

## THE CLASSICAL TEACHER OF THE PRESENT.

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THE study of the Classics has for centuries been regarded as an important part of every comprehensive scheme of education. The day of its relegation to the sphere of pursuits outgrown and outworn is still far distant, if present indications are to be trusted; for both the numbers and the enthusiasm of the students who elect to study the language, literature and life of Greece and Rome are ever on the increase\*. This condition, auguring well for the future, is not due so much to change in the subject itself as to constant growth of the intelligence and steady improvement in the methods of the Classical teacher. It is not, however, the teacher in general we are to consider, so we may dismiss without notice those personal qualities, physical as well as mental and moral, which all successful teachers possess in some degree. Nor is our subject the nature and results of Classical culture, or the reason for its existence and its relation to modern life, which were discussed by Professor Andrew F. West, of Princeton University, in an able paper before the Classical Conference held at the University of Michigan in the spring of last year.† The Classical teacher must, of course, have a wide and appreciative knowledge of the literature of Greece and Rome and the history which forms its background; he must have an accurate and scientific grasp of the languages themselves and an historic view of the development of forms and constructions; these and much more are taken for granted. In the present paper attention is directed to some auxiliary sciences, which are for their own sake worthy of serious study, but which place in the hand of the Classical teacher the means of enriching his courses and of making his instruction more delightful to himself, as well as more profitable and interesting to his students. These aids have long been used to a greater or less extent, but have not been everywhere employed to the fullest advantage. Never before have they offered such abundance of material, never before have they been so accessible, as to the Classical teacher of the present. If his function is to interpret

\*The number of pupils studying Latin in secondary grades in the United States has within a few years increased from 100,000 to 248,000.

†"The True Spirit of Classical Culture," *School Review*, Nov., 1898.

the literature, and through it the spirit and life of Classical antiquity, he must be ready to make the fullest use of all available means to that end.\*

One of the most valuable aids to the Classical teacher is a knowledge of Epigraphy. Year by year, nay, day by day, the busy spade of the investigator is turning up ancient monuments in all parts of the Roman world, until the total number of Latin inscriptions now edited, considerably exceeds one hundred thousand. Here the student has a vast storehouse of material for the study of language, and public and private life, as well as for the elucidation of the literature; and the historian often finds his latest theory overthrown by the discovery of some long-buried fragment. Such a fragment is a part of the so-called Elogium of Turia, which was recently dug up near the via Portuense on the right bank of the Tiber. Two considerable portions of this monument have long been edited, and are now preserved in the Villa Albani. Mommsen, following Filippo della Torre, identified the noble lady of the inscription with Turia, the wife of Q. Lucretius Vespillo, who is mentioned by Caesar, Valerius Maximus and Appian. The details of the inscription, so far as then extant, corresponded perfectly with the narrative of the historians. Proscribed by the second Triumvirate, Vespillo had to flee from the assassin, and was finally saved by his wife, who concealed him in his own house so that he could not be found ("inter cameram et tectum cubiculi," Val. Max. vi, 7, 2). But the new fragment, eleven lines long, adds further details and shows that not Turia, but some other high-born Roman lady, otherwise unknown to us, is meant. The glimpse of pure and noble womanhood and domestic peace which this record affords is invaluable, and wonderfully refreshing by way of contrast to Juvenal. History does not often occupy herself with simple virtue; but such inscriptions as this serve to show that in private life during the last days of the republic, the leprosy of immorality had not reached so acute a stage as a superficial view might lead us to suppose. It must be confessed that these most enduring records are by no means the least interesting part

\*The principles here applied to the Latin field may be extended to the teaching of any ancient language; and not alone in the College and University, but in the school. See "The Enrichment of the Classical Course in Secondary Schools," by Professor Clifford H. Moore, *School Review* for June, 1898, p. 460.

†See *Notizie degli Scavi*, Oct. 1898.

of ancient literature. Whether we decipher the alphabe roughly scratched on a wall by childish hands, or peruse the affectionate words of a husband inscribed on the tomb of the wife with whom he had "lived for thirty years without suspicion," or gaze on the inscription from the front of a Jewish synagogue at Corinth—probably the very one in which the Apostle Paul preached—we are brought more closely into touch with antiquity than is otherwise possible.

In Suetonius (*de Gram.* 17) we are told that M. Verrius Flaccus, the preceptor of the grandsons of Augustus, had set up to public view in the forum of his native town, Praeneste, the Fasti, prepared by himself and engraved on marble slabs. In 1771 some fragments of this calendar were found and arranged by a scholar named Foggini, who succeeded in making out the months of January, March, April and December. These, together with a portion of February discovered later, are now published in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. In October, 1897, the report came from Palestrina (Praeneste) that workmen had brought to light a fragment of marble about five by eight inches in size, which was at once recognized as part of the famous Fasti of Verrius Flaccus. The inscription indicates the celebration proper to the first day of August, for it mentions the sacrifice offered on that day to Hope in the temple dedicated to her in the Vegetable Market. But the importance of the new fragment lies in an addition which appears in no other calendar, namely, V I C T O R I A E · V I C T O R I A E V I R G-  
I N I · I N · P A L A T I O. The temple of Victory on the Palatine was very ancient and celebrated, having had its origin in a shrine built by the primitive inhabitants of the hill. In 294 B. C. it was rebuilt by the consul L. Postumius Megellus, and in 204 B. C. the famous holy stone of Pessinus, which the Romans venerated as the image of the Magna Mater, was placed within its walls. In the ninth chapter of his thirty-fifth book, Livy says that M. Porcius Cato dedicated a shrine to Victory the Maiden near the temple of Victory (194 B. C.). The passage caused difficulty because nowhere else in the literature is there any mention of Victory the Maiden, and some scholars were inclined to dispute the statement of Livy as to the existence of such a divinity at all. Weissenborn in his commentary says: "Whether

the temple of Victory on the Capitol or the one on the Palatine is meant, cannot be decided." But this inscription settles every difficulty, establishes the truth of Livy's statement and shows that the worship of this goddess was maintained till imperial times, not only in the principal temple to Victory on the Palatine, but also in the adjacent shrine dedicated by Cato to Victoria Virgo, and that in both the annual festival of Victory was celebrated on the first of August.

Thus do inscriptions aid us in the elucidation of ancient authors, while the evidence they furnish to the student of ancient history is even more valuable. C. Cornelius Gallus, born in Gaul of poor parents, about 70 B.C. went to Rome at an early age and entered upon a literary career. At the time of Caesar's death he had already attained to distinction, and his intimate friendship with the most eminent men of his time, such as Asinius Pollio and Vergil, as well as the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, indicate what a loss literature has sustained in the disappearance of his poems. Ovid (*Trist. IV 10. 5*) placed him among elegiac poets in the same rank with Propertius and Tibullus, and we know that besides his four books of Elegy he made translations from Euphorion. Of all the product of his genius only one poor pentameter has come down to modern times, and that by a mere accident. Vibius Sequester, in speaking of the river Hypanis as a boundary line between Asia and Europe, quotes the words of Gallus : " uno tellures dividit amne duas." After the death of Julius Caesar, Gallus joined the party of Octavianus and followed him in all his campaigns. In the battle of Actium he played an important part, and when Egypt was constituted a Roman province, he was appointed its first prefect. This high position he held for nearly four years ; then incurring the displeasure of his master, he was exiled and his property confiscated. His proud spirit, unable to endure this disgrace, drove him to suicide. The exact nature of his offence will probably never be known, though, according to some accounts, he spoke insultingly of Octavianus, when in his cups. Dio Cassius (LIII 23) informs us that Gallus' was unable to bear his prosperity and high position, for his vanity led him to commit many follies in Egypt, such as setting up his own statues everywhere and placing on the pyramids inscriptions of his glorious

deeds. Three years ago, when one of these boastful inscriptions from the pen of the first prefect of Egypt suddenly came to light, it seemed as if Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Octavianus, Gallus, whose genius sparkled even in that brilliant age, Gallus, whose vanity finally destroyed him, had risen from the dead and spoken to us across the centuries. Captain Lyons, R. E., while making investigations in the neighborhood of the temple of Augustus at Philae in February, 1896, found a granite stele, at the top of which is the figure of an armed horseman trampling on a fallen foe who vainly tries to defend himself with a shield. Below is a trilingual inscription in hieroglyphs, Latin and Greek. The Greek is not an accurate rendering of the Latin and the hieroglyphic text differs widely from either of the others, not even mentioning the name of Gallus but only that of Caesar. The inscription which is one of the most interesting and important discovered in recent years, was first published in the *Athenaeum* of March 14th, 1896, and a little later in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy. The following is the English version given by Rev. J. P. Mahaffy on the basis of the Latin and Greek with the source indicated by initial letters :

"Gaius Cornelius, son of Cnaeus Gallus, a Roman knight, appointed first prefect (L.), after the kings were conquered by Caesar, son of Divus (L.), of Alexandria (L.), and Egypt—who conquered the revolt of the Thebaid in fifteen days [having won two pitched battles, together with the capture of the leaders of his opponents, G.], having taken five cities [some by assault, some by siege, G.], viz., Boresis, Coptos, Ceramice, Diospolis the Great, Ombos (?); having slain the leaders of these revolts (L.), and having brought his army beyond the cataract of the Nile to a point whither neither the Roman people nor the kings of Egypt had yet carried their standards (L.), [a military district (?) impassable before his day, G.] : having subdued, to the common terror of all the kings, all the Thebaid [which was not subject to the kings, G.], and having received the ambassadors of the Æthiopians at Philae [and guest friendship from their king, G.], and received their king under his protection, and having appointed him tyrant of the 30-schoeni district of Lower (?) Ethiopia—makes this thank-offering to the Dii Patrii (?) and to the Nile, who aided him in his deeds."

More and more students of antiquity are coming to see the importance of inscriptions and the direct bearing of Epigraphy

on their work. More and more editors of ancient authors are using the records of the monuments to throw light on the vexed questions of the language, life and history of ancient times, but as yet by no means to an extent productive of the best results. As a rule years elapse before the readjustments of thought, necessitated by the discovery of important inscriptions, find a place in histories and editions; as far as large numbers of textbooks are concerned, they never do. The Classical teacher, who by study and practice is able to interpret the inscriptions and apply them in his elucidation of ancient literature, has in his hands a mighty force for adding interest to his subject and giving new life to that which has sometimes been regarded as a "valley of dry bones."

Another handmaid of the Classics to which the teacher should be no stranger, is the science of Palaeography. If he is to handle his authors with the highest intelligence and success, he ought to have collated manuscripts either in the original—for which, of course, on this continent materials are not abundant—or in photographic facsimile.\* He should be familiar with the development of chirography to the invention of printing, and have some knowledge of the characteristics of the handwriting which was in vogue in different countries from Italy to Ireland, and from Spain to Germany. He should know the errors and confusions which commonly took place in copying codices in different periods, and be familiar with the methods by which the literary treasures of antiquity have been transmitted to modern times. Should he be called to edit his favourite author and thus be forced to enter the apparently arid waste of textual criticism, he might as well try to cross Sahara without a drop of water as to make a really useful edition of an ancient text without a knowledge of Palaeography and the critical apparatus for the author in question. Of course, editions are made by the score every year, in the preface of which the reader is informed that the text is that of A—, and it might sometimes be added that the notes are copied or translated from X—, Y—, or Z—. It is in editions of this type—such as one of Livy, which now

\*Thanks to the publications of the English Palaeographical Society, and to the great number of facsimiles issued in the series of Chatelain, Wattenbach and others, it is now possible for the student to have in his own library exact copies of parts of the most important manuscripts in European libraries. In a few cases facsimiles of whole manuscripts are available.

lies before me—that you find comments on words and expressions which are not in the text at all, for the simple reason that the text was taken from one source and the comment from another. These editors seem to think, like the omniscient bookseller whom we all know, that the text of an author is always printed in the same way; and yet, to take an extreme case, we find in two books published within six years of each other the same line of Varro, written—

psephístis dicite lábdeae et vivós contemnите vívi,  
and

ipseí scitis δὸς ρᾶι λαβ', id est : sivís contendite sívi,

in which, it is true, some letters correspond, but no two words are alike. The Classical teacher should be able to edit his favourite author, and to do it intelligently and skilfully, making free use of all the work of his predecessors in the field, after it has passed through the mill of his own thought and received his own stamp, but facing squarely for himself every difficulty of criticism and interpretation, and bringing new light wherever he can. But someone will say, The teacher need not be an editor. Quite true: many of our best Classical teachers have never been editors. Some day, however, when he appears before his class, a student of enquiring mind is sure to ask why the text is not the same in two editions he has seen, and which is the better reading, and why one is better than the other. These are questions which may be parried with an evasive answer, but no teacher ever held the respect of his class or his own self-respect by such a course. Before undertaking to give instruction in connection with any author, the teacher should make himself master of the critical materials out of which the text is constructed, so as to be able to answer to his own satisfaction the questions which his own mind will suggest. He may never mention manuscript or variant reading in the presence of his class; if his students are undergraduate he probably will not; but in this field, as truly as in any other, it is proved in the experience of many that "knowledge is power."

There is a charm in the man of genius that attracts the attention of the world while he lives, and after his death brings fame to the scenes he loved and haunted. Who that knows Wordsworth does not long to visit the English Lakes! How many

reverent pilgrims journey to Hawarden, which would have been but a name, had not Gladstone lived there! Any day, travellers may be seen wending their way along a narrow street of Bonn on the Rhine to an unpretentious house, and mounting the stairs to a little, common, low-ceiled room, which one must stoop to enter. Why do so many come from far and near to stand with uncovered head in this chamber and gaze on the lifesize bust which is its only furniture? Here Beethoven was born. And what inspiration comes to the Classical teacher who stands amid the ruined glories of the Acropolis, or on the mountains that "look on Marathon" or "sea-born Salamis"! What added zest enters the life and teaching of him who walks the *Sacra Via* in the footsteps of Horace, and wanders through the Forum, which has seen the making of more history than any other spot on earth! Insensible indeed must he be, who is not impressed as he looks upon this place which was the centre of human interest and power for almost a thousand years. Every Classical teacher should at the earliest possible moment visit the places most closely associated with the literature he professes and carefully study their monuments and topography.\*

As the reader who knows London will take a livelier interest in "Old Curiosity Shop," or he who has visited Quebec will better understand "The Seats of the Mighty," so the teacher who is familiar with the topography and monuments of Greece and Rome, is thereby aided to fuller comprehension of the Greek and Roman literatures, and is able more successfully to grasp and interpret their spirit. Livy tells us, in the thirty-second chapter of his fifth book, that not long before the sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.) a voice, too distinct to be human, was heard in the silence of night on the *Nova Via*, behind the Hall of the Vestals, announcing the approach of the barbarians. When the city was being restored after the disastrous occupation, a shrine was erected to the divine Voice (*Aius Locutius*) near the place where it had been heard. Nothing can arouse the interest

\*I take this opportunity to call attention to the facilities now offered to the graduates of reputable Colleges by the American Schools of Classical Studies at Athens and Rome, conducted under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America, of which Professor J. Williams White of Harvard University is President. Fellowships worth \$500 and \$600, one at Athens worth \$1,000 open to women only, are annually awarded on competitive examination. I would like to recommend Canadian Classical students who intend to follow the teaching profession, to look forward to a period of residence in one or both of these Schools.

of the student of Livy more quickly than a description of this altar, which still stands on modern ground, but not far from its ancient position. Though its present form is from the restoration of about 125 B.C., the inscription is doubtless original : S E I · D E O · S E I · D E I V A E · S A C (*rum*). All readers of Horace return with unfailing interest to that exceedingly amusing and dramatic ninth satire of the first book. The poet, while out for a stroll on the *Sacra Via*, is accosted by a talkative individual, known to him only by name, who in spite of protests insists on being his companion. How much more of life can be thrown into this morning walk of the poet and the bore by a man who knows every step of the way they went, can see in imagination the buildings and people they saw, stand with them near the temple of Vesta, cross the end of the Forum to the *Vicus Tuscus* and on towards the Tiber ! But all teachers cannot go to Italy and Greece. Then they should in their teaching make the fullest use of the excellent maps, plates, pictures, and other illustrative materials which are now accessible to everyone, and should be in the Classical section of every College library ; for, after all, if Classical studies are to attract and hold increasing numbers of students, they must bring to their assistance every available means to arouse the interest and awaken the enthusiasm of all who come within their range of influence.

The Classical teacher who desires to use all the means at his disposal to illustrate and add life to his interpretation of the literature, must not overlook the resources of Classical Archaeology. This science in its broader acceptation includes much of Topography and Epigraphy, to say nothing of Numismatics, but for present purposes may be considered in a narrower sense as co-extensive with Greek and Graeco-Roman Art. More than any other people the Greeks influenced the history and development of Art ; and no other nation, ancient or modern, has approached them in that artistic taste and genius of which their literature, as well the more tangible creations of their mind, is so perfect an expression. After the conquest of Greece by the Romans, Rome became the artistic centre of the world. Hither were brought the art-treasures of Greece in great numbers, while Greek and Roman artists were still productive, though with less originality than skill in imitation of the famous pieces of the

earlier masters. Every noble home rejoiced in the possession of 'genuine' works of the best period, while even the middle classes used choice paintings for mural decoration. The most common subjects were of course mythological, and statues of Herakles and Athene, Venus and Minerva, as well as pictures of Maenads and Centaurs, multiplied. Time has swept away by far the greater part of the artistic production of antiquity; the value of what has been preserved lies not only in its connection with the history of art, but in the light which it throws on the pages of Classical literature. Scattered through the museums of Europe are thousands of antique statues in more or less complete preservation, while in Pompeii and Rome are many examples of ancient painting, chiefly on the walls of houses and palaces. And the amount of material of this sort is rapidly increasing as excavation proceeds. That the literature of peoples who valued art so highly and were surrounded in public and private life by the choicest creations of the painter and sculptor should be largely influenced by this taste and environment, need hardly be pointed out. Many of the finest descriptions in Greek and Roman poetry were written under the influence of pictures and sculptures with which the poets were familiar, and the conviction that ancient art is more closely connected with the literature than was formerly supposed, is steadily gaining ground. An example will serve to show the importance of this field to the Classical teacher.

In one of his most interesting poems (*Silv. iv, 6,*) Statius describes a little statue of Hercules which he had seen at the house of a friend. When out for an evening stroll in the *Saepta Iulia*, he met the poet and art connoisseur, Novius Vindex, who gave him a pressing invitation to dinner. No ordinary gossip occupied the guests at that table, no discussion of the age of wines or the superiority of the Etruscan to the Umbrian boar, but converse on noble themes, and especially the art treasures of their host, kept the company together till the dawn of day. Among the many fine works of art, nothing so much aroused the admiration of the poet as a little bronze Hercules which graced the banquet table. The greatest charm of the statue lay in the fact that it was scarcely a foot high, and yet produced to perfection the effect of size and strength. The gentle, joyous expres-

sion of countenance, as well as the goblet in the right hand, made it a most fitting ornament for the table. Hercules was represented resting from his labours, seated upon a rock over which was spread the lion's skin. According to Statius, the wonderful statuette was made by Lysippus for Alexander the Great, and was successively owned and treasured by Hannibal and Sulla, finally coming into the collection of Novius Vindex. This poem brings us face to face with some interesting and difficult questions which are closely connected with the interpretation. Did Lysippus create a little statue of Hercules for Alexander? What was the artist's conception and how was it executed? Outside of Statius our only literary source of information is Martial, who writes of the little Hercules in two short poems (ix, 43, 44,) of which I offer a free translation:

"A great god is in the little bronze, sitting on the hard rock cushioned by the outspread lion's skin. With head thrown back, he gazes at the heavens which once his shoulders bore. His left hand holds the club, his right a goblet. No recent work of art is this, nor glorious production of our city; thou seest the noble gift and creation of Lysippus. Once he graced the table of the tyrant of Pella, who quickly conquered all the earth and fell in the hour of victory. Witnessed by him young Hannibal took his oath at the Libyan altar; he, too, was one of those who bade stern Sulla lay aside his imperial power. Annoyed by the alarms of royal palaces, he was glad to take refuge in a private home. As he was once the guest of gentle Molorchus, so now he has become the divine guardian of our poet Vindex."

In his second poem on the same subject Martial is more successful:

"I was just asking Vindex who was the happy artist and creator of his little Hercules. He smiled—for he is used to this question—and said with a slight inclination of the head, 'You are a poet; do you not know any Greek? The inscription on the pedestal tells what you desire to know.' I read 'Of Lysippus'; I had thought it a work of Phidias."

The fact that a Herakles Epitrapezios came in antiquity from the hand of a great master depends not on the evidence of Statius and Martial alone, but is proved by the existence of at least ten more or less direct copies in bronze, marble and plaster, which are now in the museums of Europe. When we remember

that the preservation of ten copies probably means the existence in antiquity of hundreds, it is easy to draw the conclusion that the original, so often copied, was a masterpiece by a great artist, and so presumably by Lysippus. Whether the statuette seen by Statius and Martial at the house of Novius Vindex was that original is quite another question; but both the poets were convinced that in the little Hercules they saw the work of Lysippus, and most archaeologists agree that they were probably right. The extant copies now in the British Museum, the Louvre and elsewhere, found at places as widely separated as Olympia, Gabii, Smyrna and Jagsthausen, differ slightly in matters of detail, but are alike in their diminutive size, the sitting posture, and other main features. By careful comparison of these statuettes with each other, and with the poems of Statius and Martial, it is possible to reconstruct the conception of the artist and to get a clearer idea of the style of Lysippus. Now all these copies are accessible to the student in the form of pictures, most of them in excellent plates, which should be brought together by the teacher and exhibited before his class in connection with the poems of Statius and Martial. And what is true of these poets is true of every ancient writer to a greater or less extent. Many passages which make but a slight impression on the reader, or are positively obscure, become suddenly luminous with meaning in the light of some statue or picture which has been preserved from antiquity. Good reproductions of ancient art have greatly multiplied in recent years, and now are or should be accessible to all Classical teachers;\* and the man who makes an extensive and skilful use of these means is sure more deeply to impress on his students the fact that they are studying a literature that throbs with vitality, and must be placed among the noblest creations of the human mind.

We have presented some of the resources by which the Classical teacher may make his instruction more thorough, interesting and inspiring. The limits of space compel the omission of others which might be mentioned. One principle, however, should be emphasized in this connection; the intelligent teacher should have access to all the subsidiary literature of his subject.

\*The most complete and useful inexpensive work of this kind is by Solomon Reinach, *Reperoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romane*, in three volumes, of which two have appeared (10 fr. each, Paris, 1897-98.)

Especially before he attempts to write for publication, he should be perfectly familiar with what has already been done by others, and know the limits of present knowledge in his chosen field. It is from failure to grasp this point of view that some editions of ancient authors have not won the approbation of all Classical teachers. One editor in his preface says that he has purposely refrained from examining any other edition, that his own may be more independent and on that account more valuable (?) Another, without any acknowledgement, paraphrases or translates the notes of the best edition he can find. These are not imaginary cases ; such editions come from the press every year, and, for lack of better, are widely used in both England and America. A prominent publishing house recently announced a Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* with introduction and notes, pretentious in size and price (pp. 586, \$2.60). This was certainly not intended for school-boys, but for advanced students and scholars. But what does a glance into the volume reveal ? That the text of another editor is followed without examination or criticism, and that by no means the best text now available ; and that the editor has not the slightest idea of the important contributions made during the last few years to the study of Caesar. In the preface he expresses his obligation to friends "for the loan of books bearing on Caesar, one of which, namely, the Caesar-Dictionary of Dr. Otto Eichert, has been especially serviceable." The special Lexicon to Caesar and the recent admirable edition of the Gallic Wars, by Meusel, are apparently unknown to him. Why in the name of common sense did he not go to the Bodleian and find out where we at present stand with reference to Caesar ? Too large and expensive for the young student, and of comparatively little value for the scholar, this book falls far short of commanding universal respect. If, then, it is true that the published work should be accurate and based on full knowledge of the literature of the subject, should not the instruction given in the class-room be on as high a plane ? The best teacher will never be content to rely only on one, or even on several text-books : in connection with any subject there is much interesting and valuable material, which is not to be found in any text-book or edition.

This acquaintance with all the subsidiary literature of his

subject implies that the Classical teacher must read intelligently and fluently in more languages than his mother tongue. If he is to have access to the results achieved by the most eminent workers in his department, he must be at home in the languages in which they think and write. Some of us can remember the animated, not to say heated, debates to which we were often witnesses, and in which we sometimes took part in student days, on "The Comparative Utility of the Ancient Classics and of the Modern Languages as Subjects of Study." All wrong: neither can safely dispense with the other. Indeed, what we study is of far less importance than the method and spirit in which the study is pursued. At the present time the Classical teacher, in order to control the literature of his department and have access to the best thought in his own line of work, must read easily at least three modern languages besides his own. Many of the best commentaries to Classical authors are in German, much excellent literary criticism in French, not a few discussions of archaeological subjects in Italian, while in all three, as well as in English, are valuable periodicals, weekly, monthly and quarterly, devoted to Classical studies. In this matter the teacher should not respect English because it is English, or bow down to German because it is German, but revere scholarship because it is scholarship; and wherever he finds the truly great scholar, admire him and profit by his work.

Much has been written about the teaching of the Classics, much more will doubtless be written. These pages have merely touched upon some aspects of the subject and emphasized some essential truths, which have not been as widely disseminated as they ought, but are steadily gaining ground. The teacher, who cultivates the point of view and practises the methods here suggested, will not consider the Classics so much his field of *knowledge*, as his field of *work*, a field in which he may spend a life of joyous activity, fruitful to himself in the development of mind and heart, and to all who come within his sphere of influence.

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## IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

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THE charge for the carrying of letters between Canada, Great Britain and the several British colonies, who gave their adhesion to the recent agreement for the reduction of postal rates within the Empire, has at last been brought down to the ideal figure. As money is regarded in Canada, two cents a letter may be described as a nominal rate. In Great Britain, where there is said to be a much keener appreciation of the value of small change than exists in Canada, there has been no serious demand for the reduction of their letter rates, though the profits from the post office are large enough to recall the dictum of the Parliamentary Committee of 1829, that the postal charges should never be so great as to constitute a tax on the people. Mr. Wanamaker, in one of his reports as Postmaster-General of the United States, gave it as his opinion that letters could be profitably carried throughout the United States for one cent each, but the statement awakened no popular desire for the lower rate. In no country is the inland rate lower than two cents a letter, and in only a very few is it so low. France charges three cents for the delivery of a letter within its territory, and in Germany the lowest rate for carriage beyond a distance of ten geographical miles is two and a half cents. In assuming, then, that the inter-imperial letter rate will be low enough to encourage correspondence to the utmost, it will be shown that with the anticipated expansion in the volume of correspondence the rate is high enough to cover the expense of the service.

The data, to which we shall have recourse for the purpose, are those relating to the inland service of Canada, and to the sea-post service of the United States. The mail carrying between Canada and Great Britain, in so far as it has been done from Canadian ports, has been performed under contracts, which have been made mainly in the interests of trade and commerce, the conveyance of the mails being an important, but, in appearance, an incidental, term in these contracts. The consequence is that the post office is in possession of little information of its own, bearing directly on the cost of this branch of the service. The general circumstances of the service in the United States are,

however, so similar to those which prevail in Canada, that we may use with confidence the admirably full reports issued by their department. In using the inland service of Canada to illustrate the conditions of the over-sea service, we premise the remark that the United States statistics show that the over-sea service is much less expensive than the inland service, so that any conclusions we may reach as to the adequacy of the two cent rate for the inland service will apply with greater force to the over-sea service. The United States post office is the only administration, whose reports are published in detail, which pays for a large proportion of its over-sea business at a rate intended to cover no more than the conveyance of the mails. The British government in its contracts for mail service is not unmindful of its commercial and naval interests, and requires that the vessels in which the mails are carried shall have ample accommodation for transportation of passengers and goods, and shall be so built as to be readily convertible into cruisers, if occasion should demand their services as such. The subsidies paid under these contracts are all charged against the post office, under a belief which appears to find wide acceptance that a burden or two more will not over-tax the post office carrying capacity. The United States government in 1891, in avowed imitation of the British system, entered into a number of contracts for mail service, in which the same prominence is given to the commercial and naval features, and, like the British government, charged the whole cost against the post office. After two years' trial, however, the government wearied of an arrangement which offered so few tangible benefits in return for the large outlay, and of the eleven contracts made in 1891, seven were cancelled in 1893. The protective principle on which these contracts were based was not entirely disregarded on their cancellation, as it is still the practice to pay about four times as much for service performed by vessels carrying their flags as for the same class of service rendered by vessels of foreign register. As, however, rather more than 73 per cent. of all the mails which left the ports of the United States were carried by foreign vessels, under arrangements which had no object to serve beyond the mere carrying of the mails, we may assume that the rates paid fairly represent the value of the service performed.

In shewing that the two cent letter rate is sufficient to cover

the expenses of the inland service of Canada, and *& fortiori*, of the over-sea service, we have the benefit of two statements from the last reports of the British and United States post offices. In the British report it is stated that the newspaper rate, 1½d., for each newspaper, or about 7 cents per lb., does not pay, and in the United States report it is said that careful estimates lead to the conclusion that it costs 8 cents per lb. to carry the newspaper matter in that country. As the Canada post office has hitherto carried all but an infinitesimal fraction of its newspapers free of all charge, it is clear that it is subjected to prodigious loss on account of this service. The Postmaster-General in the United States has urged year after year that steps be taken to levy a rate on this branch of business sufficient to meet the outlay, and as an inducement to action, a one-cent letter rate has been held out to the public; but in vain. The people evidently prefer having their reading matter unburdened by postal charges rather than the extremely low letter rate. In this case the post office has nothing to say but to make as impressive as possible the fact that the people by their decision are incurring an expenditure of many millions yearly, and to insist that if the post office is to be treated as a business institution, which in a healthy condition should make ends meet, there shall be a clear recognition of the fact that, to the extent of the outlay for this service, the post office is not to be held responsible for its results. It was estimated that last year there passed through the Canadian post office 16,557,490 newspapers, on which nothing was paid in the nature of postage. At the cost of the service, as ascertained in the United States and confirmed by the British post office—8 cents per lb.—the amount spent by the post office last year for newspaper carrying was \$1,324,599.20. With the accounts of the department, including the newspaper carrying, showing a deficiency of less than \$47,000, it is plain that letter carrying, at the three-cent rate, is immensely profitable, and as the estimated immediate drop in the revenue is only \$600,000 a year, the two-cent rate for letters will return the department a considerable surplus. Relying on the experience of the United States post office, that over-sea service is less expensive than inland service, we may assert confidently that the inter-imperial two-cent rate will at least cover the expense of the service.

Even more conclusive, however, are the statistics of the over-sea service of the United States. As already stated, the United States over-sea mails are carried in large part—73 per cent. of the letter mails—by foreign vessels, at rates which, it may be presumed, fairly represent the value of the service. The remainder of the mails are carried by United States vessels, partly under contract at very high rates, and partly at rates which are intended to absorb the whole over-sea and inland postage on the correspondence carried. For the service performed under contract \$1,177,548 were paid last year. If this service had been done by the Cunard, White Star, or North German Lloyd lines, by which the bulk of the correspondence was carried, it would have cost only \$208,567. For service by United States vessels, not under contract, \$102,515 were paid, the foreign lines just mentioned would have done the same work for \$41,780. Here, then, under arrangements having for their object the encouragement of United States shipping, the government pay out \$1,029,716 per annum, and place the amount to the charge of the post office, though that institution does not benefit by the outlay to the extent of a single dollar. The improvidence of the expenditure under this head was brought home to the Postmaster-General in 1893, and, as already stated, the larger part of the contracts were cancelled at that time. In spite of adverse conditions, however, the United States post office maintains that there is a large surplus obtained from the management of its foreign business. The last report of the post office shows that the reduction in the revenue, which would take place if the over-sea letters had been charged at the rate of two cents instead of 5 cents per half ounce, is \$767,620, and if we bear in mind that the post office is charged \$1,029,716 more than it should be for the carrying of the mail, we cannot be wrong in the conclusion that the two-cent letter rate for over-sea business would be productive of a large surplus. Furthermore, the figures ought to satisfy us that the new inter-imperial rate is large enough to cover the expense of the business.

The several steps by which the rates were brought down from the practically prohibitive figures of half a century ago to the present nominal charge may be interesting. In 1837, when Rowland Hill, amid the benedictions of the mercantile and work-

ing classes of Great Britain, was gradually bringing home to the government the conviction that the substitution of the uniform penny rate from the high graduated charges then in force, not only was a measure of incalculable benefit to the people as a whole, but might also be accomplished without eventual loss to the revenue, the charge for carrying a single letter from Great Britain to Canada was one shilling for sea conveyance, to which had to be added the Canadian inland charges for all letters passing in or out from Halifax. The inland tax was a graduated one, depending on the distance the correspondence had to be carried, and was as follows :—Up to 60 miles, 4½d.; thence to 100 miles, 7d.; thence to 200 miles, 9d.; thence to 300 miles, 11½.; thence to 400 miles, 13½d.; thence to 500 miles, 16d.; and so on. A single letter from England for Toronto was charged with the following figures in Canadian currency : From England to Halifax, 1s. 2d.; from Halifax to Quebec, 1s. 8d.; from Quebec to Toronto, 1s. 6d.; in all 4s. 4d., or 88 cents. To Hamilton or Niagara there was an additional charge of 4 cents. Amherstburg was the most westerly point under the control of the Canadian post office, and to it the charge for a single letter from Quebec was 2s. 1d., so that the unfortunate officer or settler who had to pay \$1.02 for a single sheet of paper had no need of other reminder that he was very far from home. In January, 1840, the penny post was introduced into Great Britain, and six months later its influence began to be seen on the Colonial postage. On the 6th July, 1840, a treasury minute was issued stating that the Lords of the Treasury, "feeling convinced that the present high rate of postage between the British Isles and the North American colonies, which amount frequently to three or four shillings for a single letter, must be a serious grievance to the poorer settlers in the North American colonies and to their correspondents in this country, must tend injuriously to check emigration and to discourage the friendly intercourse which it is so important to promote between the colonies und the mother country, have determined to reduce such rates of postage to an extent nearly equal to that recommended by the Governor-General. In conformity with this determination, my lords will instruct the Postmaster-General as follows :—As regards all letters passing between this country and our North American colonies, and conveyed between

them direct, either by packet or ship, to charge the internal colonial postage, if any, not as heretofore, according to the number of enclosures and by distance, but according to weight ; (2) to reduce the inland charges to uniform figure of two pence." The extent of the reduction in the charges due to the levelling down of the internal rates will be readily appreciated. The letter from England to Toronto, which, until then, cost for postage 88 cents, was delivered at its destination for 28 cents, and no more was charged for the letter to Amherstburg. But nearly as important as the reduction in the inland charges was the change of the system, which followed the former of the two instructions in the treasury minute. At present, as everybody knows, the internal letter rate is 2 cents per ounce ; a few years ago it was 3 cents per  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce. A letter may contain as many pages as the writer cares to enclose, and so long as the weight of 1 ounce is not exceeded, the letter will be carried for 2 cents. The system of making the postage charges depend on the weight of the letter has been in operation in Canada since 1844 as regards inland or Canadian letters ; as regards letters passing to and from Great Britain, the system was introduced as a consequence of the foregoing treasury minute in 1840. Prior to those dates the system was so peculiar as to deserve some explanation. A letter under that system might be defined as a single sheet of paper folded so as to conceal its contents, and weighing not more than an ounce. If within its folds another sheet of paper was enwrapped, no matter how small the enfolding sheet or its enclosure happened to be, the whole was charged as two letters, and a second enclosure entailed the liability to another letter charge. If the letter, whether single or containing enclosures, exceeded the 1 ounce weight, it was charged as four letters, and every additional  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce was charged as an additional letter. A letter passing from Halifax to Amherstburg, and containing two one-dollar bills, the whole weighing less than 1 ounce, would to-day be carried for 2 cents ; up to the end of the first half of the year 1840, the letter and its two enclosures would have been charged as three letters, and the tax would have been \$3.92. The hardship and injustice of the system was the subject of much criticism, both in this country and in England. At the time of the agitation of the penny post, there were passed through the London

post office two letters, one nearly as light as a feather and almost small enough to require a pair of forceps for its handling, bore double postage because it contained an enclosure, the other, weighing just under the ounce, eight inches broad and more than a foot long, passed at a single rate because it was all on one sheet. But everybody will be ready with the question, "how could the fact of enclosures and their number be discovered without opening the letter?" The official instructions shall answer: "Post-masters must endeavour to distinguish double and treble letters from those which are single by an examination of the ends, and this may be done in the most effectual manner by the aid of a shaded candle or lamp; but in making this examination, they should specially bear in mind the delicacy of the duty they are performing, and not carry the scrutiny any further than is absolutely necessary for the protection of the revenue." By the aid of the shaded candle or lamp other things are discerned besides the number of enclosures in a letter. The eye may be held by a few chance words, or more strongly still by the form of a bank note, and he will judge best as to the efficiency of the injunction that the enquiry should cease at the point where the interests of the revenue are satisfied, whose curiosity or cupidity have once been strongly excited, and who is restrained from the gratification of these instincts by nothing surer than his own sense of propriety.

The rate fixed in 1840 of 1s. 2d. currency for the half ounce letter remained unchanged for fourteen years, but Rowland Hill had set in motion a power when advocating the penny rate which it now became his turn to check. In his journal in 1853, he laments that the success of the penny postage in England had called into existence a number of well-meaning people, who, misunderstanding the import of his argument, expected his aid in extending the blessings of the cheap rates to their brothers in the colonies. He showed that it was only when he had been convinced of the financial success of his measure that he pressed it on the attention of the country, and that the same opportunities for cutting down useless expense did not occur as they had done in 1838; moreover, he felt assured that with the ocean lying between the places which they proposed to bind together by cheap postage, correspondence would not respond so spontaneously to

the reduction of rate. Sir Rowland had been in the post office for some years, and was showing that a matter seen from inside the office windows had a very different aspect from the same matter seen from outside of those windows. To allay the agitation with as little sacrifice as possible, he proposed, and the Postmaster-General accepted the proposition, that the rate should be reduced from 1s. 2d. to 6d. sterling per  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce, and this rate went into operation in 1854. Sir Rowland's prediction as to the slowness of the recovery of the revenue from a large fall in the charges under the circumstances was falsified by the event, for the revenue from correspondence with Great Britain, which in 1853 under the 1s. 2d. rate was £17,495, was £16,449 in 1854. This rate, which was a reduction of 50 per cent. on the immediately preceding rate, was itself cut in two in 1870, as a consequence of an agreement between Great Britain and the United States for a reduction of the rates between those countries from 12 cents to 6 cents per  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce.

Canada was not a party to the treaty, but it was doubtless felt in Great Britain that the charges for letter carrying to and from the United States, ought not to be lower than those for the same service to and from Canada. The last reduction took place in 1875. The Postal Union had just been established, and the great variety of rates for letter conveyance from country to country was brought down to a uniform charge of 5 cents per  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce. Canada was prompt in applying for admission into the union, and she became a member on the 1st of July 1876, but at the time of the application in 1875, an agreement was made between Canada and Great Britain for the fixing of the rate between the mother country and the colony at 2½d. or 5 cents.

To Mr. Henniker Heaton, belongs the credit of keeping imperial penny postage before the English people, and of directing the force of public opinion against the Government. By letters in the newspapers, by magazine articles and by queries in parliament, in short, we fear we must say, by making himself a nuisance to comfortable officialdom, he continued to poke the post office out of its hole, and the people enjoyed the gusto with which he smote it. From the indifference it first displayed to Mr. Heaton, and all that concerned him, it passed into a retreat,

which is a government stronghold, from which it gave answers which only seemed to contain information. Under the pressure of pressure on the part of Mr. Heaton, whose crowning virtue we gather is not a sensitive regard for his neighbours' feelings, the post office was drawn to look seriously into its defences, and in 1890, the law officers of the crown were asked their opinion as to the power of members of the postal union to enter into restricted unions with their colonies, having in view the establishment of postal rates lower than those sanctioned by the union. The law officers were of the opinion that no such power rested with members of the union, and having communicated this view to Mr. Heaton, the post office again found its deaf ear serviceable. The Imperial Federation league came on the scene about this time, and in 1893 it got a statement from the Postmaster-General, and an exhaustive debate in the House. The position taken in 1890 as to the disability of members of the union to make restricted unions was abandoned, and the engagement with Australia under which that country came into the union in 1891 furnished the next line of defence. Up till that time Australia had resisted all efforts to induce it to enter the union, and it agreed to become a member only on the understanding that until the next congress of the postal union there would be no general reduction of the postage rates. This was commonly taken to mean that the congress had engaged itself to make no general reduction of rates, which would compel Australia to charge less than 2½d. per letter, but the British post office held that there was an engagement implied by which the British post office should not lower its rates to Australia, since by that means the Australian people might become discontented at seeing they were charged 2½d. for letters to England, while their English correspondents paid only 1d., and so bring pressure on their government to lower their rates to the English level. This view was ridiculed by leading newspapers both in England and Australia, but it was effective as a covert until the meeting of the Postal Union Conference in Washington in 1897. This Conference settled two important matters relating to penny postage. By its mere existence it dissolved the obligations towards Australia, which were admittedly only binding until it should meet, and by express words it decided that restricted unions having for their

object the reduction of rates were allowable. The same year at the conference of colonial premiers with the colonial secretary, the latter declared himself strongly in favour of the imperial penny rate, and urged the members of the conference to accept any sacrifice of revenue that might be necessary to carry so desirable an object into effect.

Wm. SMITH.

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#### AN EXPLORATION OF THE CORUNDUM LANDS OF ONTARIO.

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DURING the past two years, considerable interest has been shown in the New Mineral of Ontario, and it was thought that the readers of the QUARTERLY would probably appreciate a short description of the mineral, and the part taken by the Kingston School of Mining in the work of defining its occurrence and determining its character.

Corundum is an oxide of the metal aluminium. It is very hard, standing next to the diamond in this quality. A better idea of its hardness may be formed if a few minerals are named in the descending scale of hardness. These would be placed as follows: Diamond, corundum, topaz, quartz (rock crystal), feldspar, common glass. The gems, ruby, sapphire, and oriental emerald are simply forms of corundum containing a little coloring matter. That form occurring in Ontario, though very pure, is not clear enough to furnish the gem variety. It is found embedded in solid rock mostly in the form of six-sided, prismatic crystals, which taper slightly at both ends. A notion of their general appearance may be obtained by those who have not seen them, if we refer to an incident which furnishes a simple description. One of the settlers in the corundum country told us that twenty years ago, his adopted daughter, while playing on the rocks picked up one of the crystals and brought it to him, asking if it were not like the stopper of a cruet bottle. The crystals vary in color from blue, white or grey to brown, the greatest number being brown. They are of different sizes, the smallest being

but a fraction of an inch in diameter and an inch or less in length, while the largest we have seen was about six inches in diameter and over a foot in length. Its weight was between thirty and forty pounds.

The use of this mineral so far has been confined to that of an abrasive, it being made into wheels and stones for sharpening or grinding steel and other hard materials. The principal minerals used for this purpose in the descending order of their effectiveness are: diamond, corundum, emery, garnet and quartz. For abrasive purposes corundum is much superior to emery—a fact indicated by their difference in price, the former selling at seven to ten cents per pound, the latter at from three to four cents. Since, however, corundum contains over fifty-three per cent. by weight of the metal aluminium, and as the demand for this metal is increasing, it seems probable that in the near future corundum may be used as the source from which aluminium may be most easily prepared. It is prevented at present from being put to this use by its high price and the lack of an easy method of reduction.

Previous to the year 1896 the known occurrences of corundum in any quantity on this continent were limited to Georgia, the Carolinas and a few other states. Of late the supply from these districts has practically ceased, a fact which seems to favour the development of the Ontario deposits. In the summer of 1896 some crystals labelled "pyroxene" were sent to the Department at Ottawa from the township of Carlow, in North Hastings. These, upon examination, proved to be corundum, and Mr. Ferrier was sent to locate the occurrence. He found an outcrop of it on Mr. Armstrong's property in the township named. As much interest was taken in this discovery of the mineral by manufacturers of emery wheels and others, it seemed advisable that a careful examination of the deposit should be made, in order to learn something of its economic value. Accordingly, Professor Willet G. Miller, of the Kingston School of Mining, was instructed by the director of the Ontario bureau of mines to undertake an examination of the corundum bearing rocks, and to search for other deposits of the mineral in the district. This work has been in progress for parts of the past two seasons. The writer was appointed as an assistant in the work, and it is from

knowledge gained while so engaged, and from additional information very kindly furnished by Professor Miller, that I am able to supply the readers of the QUARTERLY with this account.

North Hastings and South Renfrew, as is well known, are very rough, being diversified by hills, valleys, rivers, lakes and streams. And as only a valley here and there contains any tillable land, they are necessarily very thinly settled. The settlers, by farming in the summer, hunting and trapping in the fall, and going north to the lumber shanties in the winter, manage to make a living. In their farming operations, however, they have not only to contend with the difficulty of clearing rough land, but also with that of being a great distance from any market for their produce. Besides this, the families being usually large, and the demand for lumbermen decreasing yearly, make it difficult for the young men to find employment. From this it will be seen that a company conducting mining operations in such a country should be able to procure cheap labor and supplies. Another thing which would facilitate mining operations is the numerous streams, on all of which falls and rapids are common. Dams on these would be comparatively inexpensive, as the banks are of rock and sufficiently high. Thus any amount of power for generating electricity or other purposes could be furnished at a trifling cost.

For purposes of transportation, the Irondale RR., which is slowly being extended eastward, would, if continued for fifteen or twenty miles farther, reach the centre of the richest corundum deposits. On the north, the Madawaska river, which is near rich deposits, is navigable as far north as Barry's Bay, a distance of sixteen miles. Through this place the Ottawa and Parry Sound RR. passes.

For carrying on the work to which we were appointed we took with us a tent, cooking outfit and provisions. By so doing we were able to move from one part of the district to another as our work demanded. We began by making an examination of the known occurrences of the mineral in Carlow and Raglan. From the study of these we were led to believe that the mineral-bearing rock took the form of a belt running north-east and south-west. Acting on this hypothesis we worked towards the north-east, and soon found corundum here and there where the rocks were not

covered. Thus following it from hill to hill we traced the band, which has a width of a mile or two, across the York branch, then across the Madawaska at Palmer's Rapids, and before the season of 1897 closed, had followed it eastward to the township of Sebastopol, a distance of over thirty miles. The richer deposits east of the Madawaska occur in the townships of Brudenell and Sebastopol.

Last summer we began our work in Methuen township, in the county of Peterboro'. In that locality the occurrence of corundum was reported shortly after that in Carlow. There the best corundum occurs associated with deposits of white mica in veins or dykes. These deposits have been worked for a year or two for the mica. We found the rock similar in most respects to that on which we worked in 1897. There is a continuous ridge of it seven or eight miles long running north-east from the east end of Stoney Lake. We were unable to connect this occurrence with the band which lies to the north of it, to which reference has been made, but the indications seem to be that it will yet be found to be connected with it. After we left Methuen we traced the northern band of rock westward from Carlow, across Hastings, and across two townships in the southern part of the county of Haliburton. Thus showing the northern band to have a length of over seventy-five miles. As pointed out by Professor Miller in a paper read at Toronto a short time ago, the discovery of such a band of uniform rock may be of material assistance in solving some of the complicated problems connected with the geology of Eastern Ontario.

The method of separating corundum from the enclosing rock (stated in a general way) is that of crushing and washing. The ore is crushed and a stream of water is brought to bear upon the crushed material. The rock-matter, being much lighter than the corundum, is washed away, leaving the mineral mixed with a little oxide of iron. The latter is removed by passing the mixture over electro-magnets. The corundum product is then sized by means of sieves graded as to the size of mesh, and is then ready for market.

In order to ascertain the milling properties as well as the richness of the ore, the director of the bureau of mines authorized the Kingston School of Mining to make a mill test. This

was carried on under the direction of Professor Courtenay De Kalb. About two tons of the ore were treated and it was found that the finished product, obtained solely by mechanical means without any hand picking, tested over 95 per cent. pure corundum of good quality. The average yield of the rock was fifteen per cent of corundum. Such a result is encouraging in view of the fact that in other parts of the world five per cent. has been considered workable.

Little can be said as to the probable future of Ontario corundum. The mineral being a new one in the Dominion, capitalists are naturally slow in investing their money. Besides, since none of the Canadian material has been placed on the markets, it is not quite certain what the relations of supply and demand will be. But these will soon adjust themselves when once the finished product is offered for sale. Certain of our more enterprising capitalists, however, are taking steps which point to an early beginning of work on these deposits, so that the present outlook would seem to support the belief that the corundum industry must soon take no unimportant place among the industries of our province.

R. T. HODGSON.

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#### THE EVOLUTION OF IMBECILITY.

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IN approaching such a question as that of imbecility, one of the first problems to engage our attention is the part heredity plays in the development of abnormal types. Before this can be dealt with, though, it is necessary to have a clear conception of what idiocy and imbecility are, according to alienistic phraseology. In everyday life people use the terms idiocy, imbecility and insanity, as having the same or almost the same meaning, and yet it is important that we should clearly distinguish the differences between insanity and imbecility.

The dividing line between idiocy and imbecility is, of course, purely arbitrary, but not so when insanity enters into the question. When such elaborate dictionaries as the Century fail to

give satisfactory definitions of the terms, as applied in medicine, it is no wonder the general public is somewhat mixed.

An insane person is one in whom the normal brain function has been disturbed by actual disease, either functional or organic. Insanity is a *disease* occurring usually after full development, or occasionally adolescence, has been reached, but sometimes develops before this period.

An idiot is one in whom we find arrested brain development. This arrest has taken place before or immediately after birth. The brain tissue is healthy in the ordinary sense, but fails to develop.

A congenital imbecile, that is the true imbecile, is one in whom we find a certain amount of brain development, falling far short of the normal. Quite frequently we find the brain of a child in a man's body. In such a case there is arrested development, possibly retarded development, but the condition is not so marked as in idiocy, which embraces some remarkable states, a discussion of which would be too technical for a lecture such as this.

A common variety is that called by Dr. Down, the Mongolian; the members of this class are often the latest born of the family, and are connected with a consumptive ancestry. They are short in stature, and there is often a remarkable deficiency in the posterior part of the crania. The nose is depressed, the speech is deepened and always of a guttural character. The fingers and hands are dwarfed, the integument coarse, the ligaments of the joints are lax, so that undue mobility is permitted them. They walk with a stooping posture, and frequently have large imitative powers.

In another type we have bright and intelligent facial expression, well developed physique, graceful movements, a certain amount of understanding. The idiot hears perfectly, but gives no attention, living for the most part in a world of his own. He has little or no power of utterance. In view of the good physique it is difficult to understand the mental defect until we learn the history, viz., that during the early months of life there was meningitis, or some injury to the brain.

Then there is the typical congenital idiot, with narrow and somewhat asymmetrical head, defective teeth, and absence of language beyond that of signs, difficult to understand.

The microcephalic type is also well marked. The microcephalic idiot is not so repulsive in appearance as many of the others, particularly the next type, viz.: the macrocephalic, or the following, the hydrocephalic. Dr. Down also includes a class of children quite dissimilar to those already briefly referred to. He says "They are full of vivacity, quick in their movements, quick in their perverted thoughts, and everlastingly in clever mischief. Unlike many others, already discussed, they do not live in a world of their own, but interfere with all that goes on around them; they are observant, impetuous, cruel and destructive. They have no necessarily characteristic criminal conformation. They acquire languages readily, but in their case this is not an unmixed good, as they weary those around them with questions, and inconveniently appropriate to their use, language of the gutter. They are so restless and mischievous, that they need constant watchfulness, and have such a *mercurial* character that it does not seem an inappropriate name for this type."

I do not agree with Dr. Down in classifying these children among idiots, but prefer to place them with the imbeciles, of whom I shall speak presently. Idiocy is a term which should be reserved for the very lowest types of mankind, and in this list must be placed the Cretins, a class in which the failure of the function of the thyroid gland is undoubtedly the cause of arrested development, both physical and mental. The change in this gland may be in two directions, first, it may be atrophied; secondly it may be hypertrophied, and the seat of a new growth of tissue, until the function of the gland is impaired; if the function is destroyed the individual dies.

For many years the thyroid gland was regarded as of little importance in the animal economy, and even in my day this idea was commonly taught, but of late years we have begun to appreciate the fact that all of the glands have a most prominent part to play, and the disturbance of function in one, is apt to upset the exquisite balance of the complex whole. Just what the function of this thyroid gland is, we know not, but we realize that its relation to the nervous system is of great import.

To prove the connection between Cretinism and the function of the thyroid gland, all that is necessary is to feed young

Cretins desiccated thyroids, and they at once begin to develop.

From what has already been said you will infer that imbecility is, strictly speaking, applied to a congenital defect of mental power, of the same kind as, but to a less degree than, idiocy, in other words, a condition of mental enfeeblement resulting from want of brain development.

The remarkable characteristics of some of the forms of imbecility will occupy our attention later on in the lecture, but before referring to them, it may be well to look at some of the probable reasons why the human race should be cursed by the development of such abnormal types, as those of which I speak.

First in importance, from the evolutionists' standpoint, are the problems of heredity ; and those of you who have had the training of children at school will readily concede that most children are just what you would expect them to be, when you consider the characteristics of their parents ; although such is not always the case.

In nearly all of the congenital cases of idiocy, the question of heredity must be considered, and even in some other cases, such as those developed after meningitis, heredity plays a prominent part, for the tendency to the development of inflammations of the brain and spinal cord, and their meninges, is well marked in certain families.

As pointed out in a former lecture, delivered during a Summer Session in this University, the whole subject of heredity has been fairly worked out by men who have applied what is generally called good common sense in the development of magnificent types of animals, in which we find preserved certain peculiarities. They have accomplished this by an accurate observance of the laws of heredity. These stock raisers not only believe in the transmission of certain physical qualities, but also know of the transmission of tendencies. Some strains of horses have a tendency to develop spavin, and so on. As a matter of fact, our knowledge of the human system can be well worked out in the fields of comparative physiology and psychology, because among the animals there are no family skeletons to hide, no social standings to be considered, and general results are arrived at in a way quite impossible in the human race.

In discussing heredity with an enthusiastic sporting gentle-

man, a few weeks ago, he said "Doctor, I have come to the conclusion that the only place to study heredity properly is among game cocks. I have studied it there, and it has paid a handsome profit." No doubt practical results have prejudiced his beliefs, but there is, beyond question, something in his remark.

A well-known writer has said that "it has not yet been proved satisfactorily whether the shape of a man's nose, or the acuteness of his moral sense, is most apt to be transmitted to his children or grandchildren, but I am strongly of the opinion that the latter will be found to be so."

The first law of heredity is the law of inheritance. It is, that the offspring tends to inherit every attribute of both parents. Inheritance is the rule, non-inheritance the anomaly. As a matter of fact there is no character sufficiently small to escape the operation of the law, although the recently acquired characters may be more uncertain regarding their constant reappearance than some of the others.

The first and most obvious circumstance to be considered is that each individual has two parents ; and that in so far as the attributes of the parents are contradictory, the offspring cannot inherit from both. As Mercier points out, "The offspring of a white rabbit and a black rabbit may be entirely white or entirely black, but it cannot be both. So the offspring of a parent of stable nervous constitution and one of unstable constitution may have the one cast of constitution or the other, but cannot have both." When these attributes contradict each other there are three possibilities as to the attributes of the offspring.

1. The offspring may inherit the attributes of either parent alone.
2. It may inherit mixed attributes, as in the case of white and black rabbits, where the offspring is piebald.
3. The attributes of one parent may at one time be prominent, but eventually give way to the attributes of the other parent.

In some families qualities reappear in generation after generation, and are termed prepotent. This subject of prepotency is too large for this lecture, but it is necessary to refer to what is called reversion, *viz.*, the transmission, by an individual of qualities which that individual does not himself possess. This

power of transmitting latent qualities is possessed by all highly developed organisms, and is of great importance.

When we discover a structural anomaly, such as the unusual branching of an artery, we may rest assured that the anomaly existed normally in some ancestor. In subsequent generations it was latent, but as Darwin says, "It was written in invisible ink, ready to appear on the proper test being applied."

A parent, if of defective nervous organization, may or may not transmit his defect to his offspring. If the defect has attained prepotent strength, he will probably transmit it. If he is fortunate in marrying a wife of normal organization, the superior strength of the quality of long descent, viz., the normal, will doubtless tend to the destruction of the more recent acquisition, although this normal quality may remain latent and ready to reappear if favorable conditions occur.

Now we have reached the second law of Heredity, styled the law of Sanguinity.

In dealing with the question of the development of Idiocy and Imbecility this law must be considered. Briefly stated it is this: "The quality of organization of the offspring depends on the suitability of the parents to each other."

Apart from inheritance, the completeness of the organization depends upon several other things, chief among which is the quality of the germ. "To produce an offspring that reaches the full normal bodily and intellectual standard of the race, the germ from which it starts must be of good quality; must be normally constituted and able when vivified to develop fully. If the developmental forces are not normal, premature failure will result, and may show itself in many ways, local or general—hare lip, cleft palate, etc. Sometimes the failure is shown in the defect of force to animate the structure; again, the feeble forces flash up and die out early in the day."

In the more marked cases we have the whole organism defective, both mentally and physically, and the result of such deficiency we find illustrated in idiocy and imbecility. The deficiency in structure is seen in the stunted size and defective mental qualities, feebleness of muscular power and inability to resist adverse circumstances. Few congenital idiots live to an advanced age; idiots, the result of traumatism or inflammations, often have excellent physique.

Congenital imbeciles may easily be produced by the union of parents unsuited to each other, and this is particularly the case if the degree of kinship between the parents is too close. Here the student in comparative science comes to our aid, and by his researches in the subject of inbreeding furnishes data of great value. As a matter of fact we know that intermarriage is fatal to the best interests of the human race.

Now what are the factors which play an important part in the development of inferior and degenerate types of the human race?

In 28 per cent. of cases of idiocy, there is a family history of tuberculosis; 21 per cent. have inherited mental weakness, as shown by the existence of epilepsy, insanity, congenital mutism, disease of the brain, paralysis, etc. Alcoholism is a prominent factor although it is difficult to give the exact proportion.

Consanguinity is responsible for about 6 per cent. of congenital cases ; the others not classified, would show, if properly analysed that the laws of heredity are well worth the deepest research.

Now I have indicated, in a general way, some of the modern views regarding the evolution of imbecility, and have pointed out the fact that the laws of heredity, which explain the development of this state, are becoming pretty well understood ; however, a general discussion of the leading characteristics of some of the forms of imbecility, will in all probability prove of more interest to those of you who are watching the development of young brains, than would a technical account of the different forms.

None of us have difficulty in understanding the mental and physical defects of such a specimen as that which I have shown you, they are quite apparent, and we do not expect the degenerate to exhibit either high intellectual or moral qualities.

If he were of somewhat higher type physically, one might still not wonder at intellectual defects, however, if he were to show marked moral defect, without a superficial analysis revealing intellectual or physical imperfections, he would at once be classed by the majority of observers as either wicked or bad.

It is difficult, at times, to persuade even educated people that intellectual imbecility is present in some children ; and to illustrate this point, I may say that within the last two years

when giving evidence regarding the imbecility of a boy murderer a judge asked me, in all seriousness, if I believed that a boy of sixteen who could not add 19 and 17 together, and get a more satisfactory answer than 302, and who could not read words of three letters, was necessarily an imbecile. My reply was to the effect that if a boy of sixteen, who had been at school for several years could not carry on such simple calculations, and read such small words, I should certainly feel inclined to class him as an intellectual imbecile. The significant smile, to say nothing of the charge to the jury, given by the judge, proved that there was at least a difference of opinion in regard to what constituted an imbecile.

As a matter of fact, the lad was imbecile both intellectually and morally, and when this statement is offered, it brings us to the point where science, as exemplified by medicine, and theory as maintained by law, differ most radically.

No one makes the slightest attempt to hide the fact that there are members of the human race quite unable to add two and two together, or to learn to read, but when it is stated that there are moral imbeciles as well as intellectual, many of those unacquainted with the facts, will be disposed to argue the point, and yet moral imbecility is no myth. The moral sense is the last acquired in the development of a human being, and yet theoretically, we take it for granted that it should be present even in those we are quite willing to class as intellectual imbeciles. It has been asserted, time and again, that the moral imbecile is sometimes found with normal intellectual qualities, but this is undoubtedly a mistake, and a careful examination will reveal a history of both physical and intellectual defect. Some of them, certainly, have precocity in limited direction, but they are not well developed in any particular, and their precocity is of the "Flash in the pan" order. Careful study will reveal the intellectual defect, and enquiry tell of physical imperfection and retarded development.

The imbecile Savants, as they are called, sometimes have one or two faculties specially developed; such as extraordinary memory, great calculating power, the art of mimicry, imitative power and manipulative skill in music.

The moral imbeciles sometimes have superficial acquirements, which are mistaken for the outcome of intellect, but care-

ful analysis invariably shows the defect. No one doubts the absence of the music sense or colour sense in some members of the human family ; why doubt the absence of the moral sense in others.

I am often asked to see notoriously bad children, and it is marvellous how frequently the family history throws a lurid light on the evolution of the defective offspring. Not long ago I examined one who was described as notoriously wicked and incorrigible, and intellectually bright. If precocity, in certain directions, could be called intellectual brightness, he was certainly strong intellectually. When I saw him first he was persecuting another prisoner with endless questions regarding the legal punishments for many crimes ; he certainly talked well. Careful enquiry revealed the fact that his intellect was of the lowest order ; physically he had most of the stigmata of degeneracy ; morally he was completely imbecile. He was, in fact, without a trace of moral sense.

Another boy, seen just before this, could give definitions of right and wrong with the accuracy of a graphophone, could even lay all the blame for his departure from the paths of rectitude upon the devil ; and talk glibly of hopes for the future, and yet his everyday life showed absolute want of moral sense. He was extremely talkative, and although but seven or eight years of age, had shown a capacity for mischief almost unparalleled in my experience. He was plausible to an astonishing degree, and precocious in many directions. If he killed a cat, it was to save it from the cruelty of a ferocious dog, although he could not satisfactorily explain why he used boiling water to put the animal out of misery. If he were told to hoe potatoes and remove all the weeds from the hill, he would make a point of leaving one weed in each hill, to see if the promised punishment would be forthcoming. There was no end to the series of his misdeeds, and of course punishments were without avail. His heredity explained everything, and it will be interesting to learn what can be done to develop the limited moral sense existing in this child.

Another imbecile boy of bad heredity had marked perversions at a very tender age. He did not want to be a boy, but insisted on being considered a girl ; when opportunity offered he assumed girl's clothing, did not wish to associate with boys, and

was a great source of trouble in the institution in which he was cared for on account of his remarkable desires. The grotesque display and intense earnestness of the little chap were considered by some amusing, but to one acquainted with the possibilities of the future, the import of these exhibitions was of the greatest seriousness. Again the heredity cast a flood of light on the condition of degeneracy.

In these days of startling results, when school methods too frequently are based on the theory that all children are cast in the same intellectual mould, and are capable of similar development, it cannot do harm to point out some of the dangers of such a system. Possibly the criticism will apply with more force to Public School methods than to those in vogue in Collegiate Institutes ; but that we are in danger of overdoing the one standard system will be freely admitted. It may be fine, theoretically, to have a system so perfect that all children can be treated as equally competent to endure the strain of a smooth running grinding machine ; in fact, can be forced to conform to standards which do not recognize differences in mental qualities, and which tend to dwarf individuality, but it is possible to overdo such a thing. The more one studies heredity the more one is satisfied that the progressive teacher will adopt a system of teaching, founded on the capabilities of the individual pupils, rather than on the theory that all children are alike and able to develop in the same direction.

As a matter of fact we do not want them all to develop in the same direction, and it is sometimes suspected that our Public School system may be an important factor in stamping out the budding genius of many a man, who, if developed in rational directions, would have been great.

"Reading and writing come by nature," saith Dogberry, and possibly, after a while, it may be discovered that "figs do not grow on thistles."

Those of you who are teachers by profession recognize the fact that the training which a person undergoes, must have a marked influence on the function of his character. "What his success in life shall be will be determined in a great measure by what has been done to bring into activity the capabilities of his nature."

"Now while it is true that education is a great power, it is also a limited one, dependent on the natural capacity of the individual. It will ever be impossible to raise a stable superstructure of intellect and character on bad natural foundations."

Maudsley says: "Education can plainly act first within the conditions imposed by the species, and secondly within the conditions imposed by the individual organization can only, *in the former case*, determine what is predetermined in the organization of the nervous system, and of the bodily machinery in connection with it, cannot, for example, ever teach a man to fly like a bird; or soar like an eagle; or run like an antelope; can only again, *in the latter case*, make actual the probabilities of the individual nature, cannot make a Socrates or a Shakespeare of every being born into the world."

Perhaps I should not have permitted myself to make this excursion while dealing with the subject of imbecility, but it seemed a tempting opportunity to refer to it, as a very natural deduction from the fact that children do not come into the world similarly equipped, physically and mentally.

To return to the question of moral imbecility, which I feel convinced, as before stated, never exists without accompanying intellectual imbecility and physical defect.

Many shallow thinkers are likely to insist that a deficiency of the moral sense is merely the characteristic of criminal nature, to be met by suitable punishment. When one finds children, who have never heard of vice or crime, committing criminal acts, by what, for want of a better term, may be called instinct; when it is learned that punishments have absolutely no effect on them, in fact, are not the proper treatment; there can then be little doubt that moral imbecility exists in fact as well as theory.

Year after year I am consulted about such children, and in nearly every, I might say every instance, heredity explains the conditions of affairs.

Here is a typical case, A.B., aged sixteen, female, under the average size, head asymmetrical, has strabismus, arched palate, and cannot articulate distinctly. Education rather limited, but can read the Bible, which book she is able to quote freely and with accuracy. Her parents are of the same name, and nearly related. Conversation with the child reveals the fact that she is

free from delusion of any kind, and is *apparently* very sorry for having done the wicked things of which she is accused. Believes that she must be insane, otherwise she cannot explain why she is guilty of such outrageous acts. She asks for protection against herself, and one is naturally inclined not only to believe her sincerity, but to have faith in her protestations regarding her future course.

Her definitions of conscience, right and wrong, are well given, and show that she has learned her Sunday School lessons fairly well. If one were to form a hasty judgment of this girl, he might be inclined to class her as somewhat simple-minded and innocent.

What are the facts? Her life has been one succession of criminal acts, of which she does not realize the import. She has destroyed thousands of dollars worth of property, and cannot be allowed out of sight a moment without danger of getting into trouble. She has no conception of the truth, and does not seem to know when she is telling falsehoods.

Although she has a superficial amount of emotion, real sorrow, love or hate are unknown to her. All men who pay the slightest attention to her are at once charged with having suggested no end of wicked things. It is only when we have seen this girl from day to day, for months, that we realize how great the mental defect is, in fact it is the lesson that we learn in my specialty, not to be hasty in forming an estimate of the mental capacity of any one.

Sometimes it takes months to gauge such a case properly. Occasionally this poor child has a glimmering of the truth, and says she is glad that she is protected, for she knows she is not as other people are. Not unfrequently these moral imbeciles are anxious to be saved from themselves, and willingly submit to restraint in a public institution, where their course can be guided, and where they are protected from themselves and others, for, after all, the world at large has little sympathy for the defective classes.

The innate wickedness theory is always more popular than any other, and I have heard some choice moral lectures delivered to moral imbeciles, who were as incapable of understanding them, as the lecturers were of realizing, that there is a difference between wickedness and defect.

All imbeciles are not incapable of development, and even those of the most limited moral sense are susceptible of improvement, particularly in early years; but it is a question if those imbeciles in Canada who show criminal propensities receive the proper treatment. Some of these, if carefully educated and surrounded by the best moral influences, might become harmless, if not very useful members of society; others who show persistent criminal propensities should be kindly treated, but separated from society as long they live.

Our reformatory and prison systems do little to recognize such distinctions, and until the indeterminate sentence becomes a part of our law, we cannot hope for much. Already the burden of the care of our defective classes has become so great that governments hesitate to devote more of their slender incomes to the development of more satisfactory methods than those in vogue at present.

It is, of course, absolutely impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule for determining the question, either of responsibility or capacity, in conditions of imbecility; each case must be judged on its merits.

As Maudsley points out "It is a matter of observation that impulses to theft, incendiarism and violence are not uncommon in these cases where the intelligence is feeble and the passions are strong; and many crimes such as arson, theft and homicide itself sometimes, are perpetrated by actual imbeciles; they are beings who have reached a lower stage of race degeneracy than those criminals, who approach the imbecile type."

In studying all defective classes, it has always to be remembered that definitions of types of disease are illusory, and as matter of fact, every case is a law unto itself.

So much too is made out of the motive inducing the insane and imbeciles to commit crimes. A popular belief exists that the presence of a motive is strong proof that a rational mind is behind the motive. No more erroneous impression could be fostered. Nearly all insane and imbecile persons have motives which are at times extremely difficult to analyze and understand, because there is always trouble in getting the point of view, of defective or diseased intellects.

Take for example the often quoted case of imbecility where

a young man of childish and harmless manners showed a great fondness for windmills. He would go to great distances to see them and seemed to be fascinated by the motion of the fans. His friends thought it advisable to send him to a part of the country where windmills did not exist.

When removed he showed a remarkable change in disposition and set fire to a house ; on another occasion, he enticed a child into a wood and mangled it with a knife in a horrible manner. What his motive was, few could surmise, and yet he did these things hoping that he would be removed to a part of the country where windmills existed.

In the older countries where crowded population and constant inter-marriage of the most degenerate types have furnished conditions peculiarly favorable for the development of everything that is vicious, we can find the most frequent examples of the criminal "born," not made, and although the outcome of a tainted heredity, he differs much from the moral imbecile, inasmuch as he loves that which is wicked and bad, seeks vile company, and gives every evidence of what we popularly call, moral depravity.

In him we find actual perversion of the moral sense, rather than absence of it ; just as in many of the insane we find perversion of many of the moral qualities ; love of relatives turned to hate.

In the moral imbecile it is different, and the *absence* of the moral sense, is the great characteristic. He does not seek bad companions, is in fact generally devoid of what we call bad habits ; does not drink, as a rule, or if he does, cannot resist the smallest amount of alcohol, in fact his true condition may not be suspected by the casual observer, and yet, a history of his life would show in a thousand and one ways how defective this mental weakling is.

He tortures animals without stirring an emotion, he does outrageous things without any idea of responsibility ; and life is to him almost devoid of meaning. If he is punished, the punishment is without significance ; and if he is hanged, he goes to the gallows, the papers say, stolidly and showing complete indifference, in fact, without exhibiting that which he has not, viz., feeling or emotion.

He does not and cannot realize his position. To him hanging is no punishment ; to others of his class, no deterrent, simply because they are unable to grasp the significance of the lesson.

If I were to introduce you to the moral imbeciles under my care, you would, on first acquaintance, pronounce them the most amiable persons in the institutions, and you might find it difficult to believe what I should tell you of them. Their very amiability is the outcome of their defective condition.

When we deal with the responsibility of insane people, the task is not difficult to the alienist ; when he touches on the responsibility of moral imbeciles he must tread carefully if he is to avoid the strictures of the public, which has always felt suspicious of attempts made to rescue criminals from punishment.

What are we to do with moral imbeciles who are criminal ? Society says, "It is all very well to preach about the fact of such types existing ; how are we to provide the remedy ?"

Protection is the first law of nature, and the survival of the fittest is by many regarded as the means by which the balance is adjusted.

Some members of society say, "If human monsters are born, the world has no use for them ; it is safe to destroy them," and yet these people are generally willing to confer the rights of citizenship on these monsters and hold them responsible. If they commit minor crimes they are punished and set free to commit further crimes ; if they do murder, they are hanged.

Less superficial thinkers recognize hereditary defect, and believe that it is better to lock moral imbeciles up before they commit outrages on society. They say Keep these unfortunates under constant supervision ; develop their limited moral sense, when possible, and make their lives bright. The latter class of thinkers will in the end prevail.

A year or so ago I spoke of the care which should be exercised in encouraging the importation of children from Europe, and called attention to the fact that many of these boys and girls were degenerates of the most undesirable kind.

This statement was rather severely criticised by many well-intentioned people, and even officially questioned. It is stated that among any body of emigrants, we are bound to find a certain number of degenerates, and philanthropic enthusiasts are

willing to produce statistics of the most satisfying kind, to prove that the proportion of crime among child immigrants is not larger than among an equal number of native-born children.

Such figures have been produced and will continue to appear and yet they do not represent the truth.

In the anxiety to have Canada take a high place among nations, it is customary to offer all sorts of inducements to immigrants, without the slightest reference to their qualifications for citizenship.

The stock arguments are that they will swell our population, and till the unoccupied millions of acres in the North West. Why should we be so anxious to increase our population by the addition of the failures of other lands, by the degenerates from cities in Europe, by the poorest types the old world can produce ? It is true that the hardy Scotch, English and Irish emigrants of by-gone days have made Canada what it is ; that is, those of the right type, physically and mentally, but history is not silent in regard to the cost to the country of the degenerates who reached here.

It is not the degenerates themselves who give most trouble, but what they produce ; hence any statistics showing how little harm the admittedly degenerate have done, are manifestly inadequate to prove the case, as we require the history of subsequent generations to show how serious it is.

It is the misfortune of the Superintendent of every Hospital for the Insane to know of more family cupboard skeletons than any member of the community, and that he should regard with suspicion any importation of children, tainted by bad heredity, is not only natural, but inevitable.

We are told that children have never been imported without every care being exercised to eliminate the physical and mental weaklings. How perfunctory such inspection must have been in the past ; that is, if I can believe the evidence of my own senses, how frequently mistakes must have been made, if criminal records are worth anything.

The argument is advanced : Why should we not take these criminal paupers and do our best to develop them ? Why should we assume such a burden with our limited resources ; why should we endanger the physical and mental vitality of our race ?

The cost to a state of caring for the products of one degenerate family, can sometimes be estimated by figures involving expenditures of hundreds of thousands of dollars. When the Ontario Government insisted on a more rigid inspection of boy immigrants, it acted wisely and in the interests of the community, and it should not only eliminate the intellectual imbeciles, but also the moral imbeciles, with the utmost rigidity, as they are without doubt the worst of all degenerates to have in our midst.

These boy murderers, who have, from time to time, furnished the papers with such choice pabulum for sensational articles, are invariably from this class of degenerates.

My impression is, that if we wish to build up a stalwart race of the highest type, and are not content to develop gradually and expand normally ; if we must have immigrants, let us at least get the very best elements, rather than the worst.

Our neighbours to the South have had many of the best, they have also had the majority of the worst, and there are thoughtful observers who think that the eventual cost will be more than even the United States can pay; certainly the degenerates are more in evidence there than here.

The outlook would be extremely bad if it were not for the fact that nature has no desire to perpetuate the ills of the human race, and although the tendencies may be transmitted, still the law of the survival of the fittest will in the end prevail.

Sterility is exceedingly common in degenerate families, and the bad habits acquired by some forms of degenerates lead to early death.

Consumption, inebriety and insanity, as well as other infirmities, find many victims, and gradually the worst specimens are weeded out. If such were not the case, the whole human race would have disappeared ages ago ; in fact, the decay of some nations, mentally and physically, has been the outcome of the law of the survival of the fittest.

Possibly you may wonder what application this lecture has in a course\* such as that you are attending, but if it directs your attention to the fact that heredity must be considered when dealing with developing children, it will accomplish something, and if it advances one new argument in favour of a study of the indi-

\*This lecture was delivered to High School Teachers attending Summer Session at Queen's University.

viduality of pupils I shall be satisfied.

So often the defects of children are relegated to the list of faults without proper enquiry, and sometimes possibilities are overlooked for the same reason.

My impression is that most teachers should have a practical and comprehensive knowledge of the individuality of their pupils.

It may be possible to pooh-pooh the existence of such a condition as moral imbecility, but let those of extended experience look back, and they will no doubt be able to remember such cases. A careful study of the family history will reveal the reason why.

C. K. CLARKE.

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#### THE ALUMNI CONFERENCE.

THE Conference evidently has come to stay. This year the Principal reminded the members that as it had not been intended to hold one every year, it might be well to call a halt, especially as other Colleges and Universities were following the example of Queen's, and thus those members who wished an affair of the kind annually could be gratified by attending one or other of those now held in Montreal and Toronto. The suggestion fell on the meeting like a bomb-shell. How could we live without *the* Conference, asked one? We had dinner to-day, are we to have none to-morrow, remarked another? You cannot compare other Conferences with ours, was the general expression. And so the old Committee took up "the white man's burden" of pressing on to still further horizons, and now they submit a draft programme for next year.

This year there were several new features. Of these, the daily lunch in the Museum, with its two or three crisp speeches and opportunities for social intercourse, or a quiet rest in the Library or Reading or Senate Room, was the most noticeable. This must be continued and of course improved on. Two or three of the discussions were continued till late into the night, and the people had almost to be clubbed out. The most animated was that of

the last evening on "The Relations between Legislation and Morality." Mr. Haydon's paper is to appear in the next number of the QUARTERLY, and we commend its careful perusal to those who were unable to get a grip of his argument from simply hearing it read. The subject is most important in an age when it is assumed by some that there are short cuts to the millennium or easy remedies for complicated social disorders, and by others that faithful analysis and calmness of tone indicate lack of enthusiasm. We must have driving power, but unless wisely directed, it will only drive the ship on the rocks. The subject is to be continued next year by new and equally competent men, who will try to gather up the truths on which we agree, and no doubt the discussion will show wherein we differ. But, agreeing or disagreeing, we shall continue united, because one in heart and soul, aim and end.

The discussion on the papers by Rev. S. G. Bland and the Principal concerning "The Outlook for the Canadian Nation," was almost as stirring and as profitable as that of the last evening; and the same may be said of the first night, when Mr. John Cameron and Rev. Mr. Hossack dealt with "The Relation of the Pulpit to Political and Social Life, and to the Press as the principal exponent of Modern Life." That subject, too, required another night to gather up the points that were made, and it should be kept in mind when future programmes are drawn up.

The old features of the Conferences—the continuity of study from year to year, the refusal to acknowledge the medieval and essentially infidel distinction between sacred and secular as equivalent to clean and unclean, the perfect freedom in discussion combined with an inspiring brotherliness of feeling and tone—were conspicuous as usual.

#### THE CONFERENCE FOR 1900.

##### FIRST DRAFT OF PROGRAMME.

February 12th.

3 P.M.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets: Professor Cappon.

8 P.M.—Representative government in Canada: Professor Shortt. Discussion opened by Rev. Mr. Thomas.

## February 13th.

10 A.M.—The Chancellor's lectureship: Professor Watson. Subject, "The Gnostics and the Fathers."

11 A.M.—1 P.M.—Historical exposition of the Old Testament: Professor McCurdy. Discussion opened by Rev. Dr. Milligan and Rev. John Millar.

3 P.M.—The Theology of St. Paul: Professor Macnaughton.

During the afternoon and subsequently questions in writing may be handed in, to be answered on Thursday afternoon,

8 P.M.—The imagination in relation to preaching: Rev. Dr. Milligan. Discussion opened by R. Vashon Rogers, B.A., Q.C.

## February 14th.

10 A.M.—The Chancellor's lectureship.

11 A.M.—The Creation narratives: Rev. W. G. Jordan. Discussion opened by Rev. R. Laird, M.A., Rev. John Young, M.A., and Rev. David Flemming, B.A.

3 P.M.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets.

8 P.M.—Immigration: Rev. J. R. Conn, M.A. Discussion opened by J. M. Farrell, B.A., and D. M. McIntyre, B.A.

## February 15th.

10 A.M.—The Chancellor's lectureship.

11 A.M.—Judaism from Ezra to Alexander the Great: Rev. R. J. Hutcheon. Discussion opened by the Principal and Rev. N. McPherson, B.D.

Read the Books of Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, the Psalter, and other products of that period.

3 P.M.—The Theology of St. Paul: Professor Macnaughton. Discussion opened by Rev. H. Symonds, Rev. J. R. Fraser, Rev. S. G. Bland, Rev. R. M. Phalen, Rev. John Chisholm.

8 P.M.—The relations of legislation and morality: G. M. Macdonnell, Q.C., and J. L. Whiting, Q.C. Discussion opened by Rev. John Hay, B.D., and Professor Dyde.

## February 16th.

10 A.M.—The Chancellor's lectureship.

11 A.M.—Judaism from the Maccabees to Jesus: Rev. T. J. Thompson and Rev. M. Macgillivray, Discussion opened by Rev. John Mackie, M.A., and Rev. J. G. Stuart, B.A.

3 P.M.—The Theology of St. Paul: Professor Macnaughton.

4 P.M.—Students' meeting.

8 P.M.—Lecture in Convocation Hall, by Principal Parkin, C.M.G., on "The National Outlook."

Lunch will be served daily in the Museum at 1 o'clock.

Membership fee, fifty-cents.

All meetings of the Conference open to members.

Tickets for the week (25 cents) may be had by others at the Registrar's office.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

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**N**OT only Britain, but the whole civilized world, may be sincerely congratulated on the fact that so wise and experienced a statesman as Lord Salisbury has been at Foreign Minister.<sup>Lord Salisbury as a Foreign Minister.</sup> the helm of the Empire during the past two years.

British domestic politics, which necessarily occupy the most prominent place in the thoughts of the people, have, for a year or two past, been remarkably wanting in burning questions. The Opposition, which in Britain lives almost entirely on domestic issues, being deprived of its accustomed nourishment, fell to gnawing its own vitals, with what results are patent to every one. The government on its part, having little or no serious opposition upon which to exercise its large and somewhat heady following, has found itself more than embarrassed to provide harmless occupation for so many idle hands.

If there is one department of government which a democracy is wholly unfitted to manage, it is foreign affairs. With all its success in domestic politics, the Anglo-Saxon democracy, wherever it has taken a hand in colonial or international matters, has shown a most unmistakable incompetence. The mere impossibility of becoming acquainted with the details, and, above all, with the spirit of the situation, is more than sufficient to account for this. Under ordinary circumstances the British public is content to leave the conduct of foreign affairs to the experts. But when, for any reason, a large number of the people take a practical interest in foreign policy, they are very ready to offer advice or to insist upon a short and sharp line of action, which even the wayfaring man can understand. Such popular diplomacy would, no doubt, have the merit of simplicity, but would also have the awkward, not to say dangerous, effect of beginning negotiations with a foreign power by the presentation of an ultimatum. In domestic politics the whole field is before the government, and, if reasonably well-informed and cautious, it may lay down a line of policy in advance of action, with some prospect of being able to abide by it and thus to redeem its pledges. In international politics, however, any given nation is usually but one of several interested powers in the field, none of whom employs a common crier to make known its inner counsels or ulterior designs. The shrewdest foreign minister is not necessarily he who can forecast the future with the greatest accuracy, or outline a policy in advance, but he who having a sound knowledge of the circumstances and needs of his country, can best adapt them to the international situation as it unfolds itself. This involves the

keeping of his own counsel and the avoidance of giving public pledges. The very marked success of Lord Salisbury's conduct of the Foreign Office has been largely due to the sphinx-like attitude which he has maintained towards the British public. A less experienced minister like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or a more loquacious one like Mr. Chamberlain, would assuredly have been forced out of his reserve by the united clamours of the forward element in his own party and in the opposition, during several critical periods in the past eighteen months. But by calmly and steadily keeping his own counsel, Lord Salisbury has been able to act as occasion required with a freedom and precision untrammelled by any unfortunate pledges or premature expressions of opinion. Whatever may have been the uncertainty of his own mind at any given period in the evolution of events, his decisive action at the right moment leaves the re-assuring impression that from the beginning he clearly foresaw and was amply prepared for every turn in events.

But while Lord Salisbury has been able to prevent the united <sup>The influence of</sup> jingoes of his own party and of the opposition from the Jingoes. forcing his hand in foreign affairs, this element has been able indirectly to accomplish a good deal of mischief and to contribute in no small degree to the prospective burdens and misery of the world for some years to come.

The enormous increase of expenditure on naval equipment to which the world has been committed in the past few years is very plainly to be attributed in large measure to the unusual exertions of the English jingoes. They have been shouting themselves hoarse for some time past, in urging the government to take summary measures here, there and yonder to check the advance of this nation or anticipate the expansion of another. By their clamour they have at length convinced the world that instead of already having almost as much on its hands as it can well manage, Britain is just preparing to launch out on a vaster scale than ever, and to claim the lion's share in every tottering oriental Empire or unappropriated home of the barbarian. They have already excited the suspicion of the Americans by the vehemence with which they have protested affection for their persons and zeal in their cause, while in the same breath calling on them to join with Britain in a crusade against her rivals. By threateningly parading this anticipated Anglo-Saxon alliance in the face of the rest of the world, they have succeeded in exciting their apprehensions and driving them to make extraordinary efforts to protect themselves from the threatened combination. Having goaded other powers to undertake increased naval programmes, the Jingoes are able to confidently demand from their own government a corresponding increase in naval strength. As a result, not only have the surpluses which naturally accumulate during

the years of prosperity, been dissipated and a deficit reared in their stead, but increased burdens are prepared for the lean years which are certain to follow.

Without doubt foreign nations like France and Russia have been driven to the conviction that the majority of the British people are bent upon an aggressive war, which not even a combination of the leaders of Parliament on either side will be able to prevent. They see men like Harcourt and Morley discredited and practically driven from the Liberal party leadership by the jingo element in it, and they see Lord Salisbury and his government severely criticised, and even threatened with overthrow by the same element in their party. Making use of these facts of British politics as levers, the military factors in Russia, France and other countries are able to force the hands of their own governments, which in turn force the hand of the British government. For though the British government may withstand the importunity of the jingoes at home, it cannot quite ignore the foreign effects of their clamour. The really jingoistic element in Britain is not numerically so very strong, but it makes itself very much heard, which is an important feature in estimating its effect upon the foreigner.

Britain, no doubt, is better able than most other nations to stand the increased waste of effort and substance on armament. The quiet rapidity with which new war vessels are slipping into the sea from various dockyards on the British coast, as though these sea-going engines of war were as easily constructed as locomotives, must be the despair of her rivals. It is an indication of the volume and availability of the reserve power at the command of Great Britain in case of need. This is of the highest importance, because in case of a great mutual destruction of war ships in an important sea fight, Britain could reproduce half a navy while her rivals were getting well started. But for this very reason, among others, it is to be desired that as much as possible of Britain's naval power should remain in the fruitful channels of trade in the shape of uncollected taxes or potential revenue. The real weakness of the heavily armoured nations of Europe, and which is the centre of the Czar's alarm, is that their strength is so completely taxed to support the weight of their armour, that they have little or none left with which to fight. There are indeed worse things than war, and among them may be reckoned the enormous and continuous sacrifices of national life and vigor which are sometimes undertaken to prevent it.

What an inert, helpless mass the once great Empire of China <sup>The Future of China.</sup> has become ! For many a year it has evidently had little or nothing of that vigorous cohesion of parts, either in the governing body or in the people, which is the basis of national unity in civilized countries. Yet, until the revelations

made by the war with Japan, the outside world seems to have been quite unaware of the utter rottenness of the Empire as a political institution. At the touch of the iron hand of the foreigner the walls of China, seemingly as stable as they were exclusive, crumbled into dust. Yet so slight was the strain put upon them from within that the Empire seems to have maintained itself up to the present in full integrity. Even yet, if left to itself, there seems to be no reason why it should not continue for ages in the same unbroken unity. Like so many other features of Asiatic social life, the structure of Chinese society is a standing contradiction to many of the supposed universal principles of accepted political philosophy. The fact is that the Chinese Empire holds together, not in virtue of its central organization or national spirit, but in virtue of the local customs and habits of its people. The general inertia with reference to imperial matters permits even a worn-out political faction to stand for a central unity. The central power being a mere political simulacrum, it is helpless in the face of determined foreign encroachment. All the great powers have already staked out frontage claims along the coast, with indefinite possibilities of extension into the interior. And now Italy, Japan and Belgium are boldly presenting claims for concessions without any show of compensation, and they seem likely to be granted. It will then be in order for Spain and Turkey to claim their shares in the spoil with the lofty air of superiority which so well becomes those ancient and respectable powers. If states could be judged by the standards of morality, the parallel to the Chinese situation would be the case of an old lady of ancient family becoming bedridden and deserted, whereupon the neighbours flock in and pillage the house of everything worth carrying off, each one excusing himself on the ground that if *he* did not take what he could get it would not preserve the old lady's property, as it would simply fall into less worthy hands.

On China's part there promises to be little obstacle offered to the partition of the Empire. But in the very helplessness of the Chinese Court lurks the germ of retribution for the spoilers. Concessions granted by the Chinese Court are rapidly losing all value or importance, since they simply represent degrees of pressure, and a conflict of pressures promises a very dangerous situation. The integrity of the Turkish empire has been maintained for so long a time simply because of the dreaded consequences of any attempt to distribute it. China, on the other hand, seems to have surprised the European powers by the ease with which it goes to pieces under pressure. They wish only to extort certain limited concessions at present, leaving the rest to be gained by gradual expansion as circumstances and safety warrant. But the concessions come with fatal facility as far

as China is concerned. Moderation under these circumstances must appear fatal to future interests. Now or never is the growing conviction. But a general grab in China will put a tremendous strain upon the forces which make for peace, until a final adjustment of claims is made. Even then there may be more frontiers to guard in Asia than there are in Europe, involving a duplication of the burdensome military system of the home countries. That, however, will certainly end the strain. Either Armageddon or a new system of international politics must result.

The people of the United States are already discovering that Progress of Ameri- Imperialism is a national luxury which draws heavily on the purse. But, as in the case of some other can Imperialism. expensive indulgencies, there may be a good deal of enlightening experience to be had from it. After the Americans have killed off a goodly number of native colonials, not without sacrifices to themselves, to spare a Christian world the distressing spectacle of seeing the natives kill one another, and reduced the remainder to a condition of thankless peace, they may soothe their consciences and cover the chagrin of their increased load of taxation with the consolation that they have been bearing the white man's burden. This is a kind of virtue after the event which has the useful saline property of preventing a decay of self-respect, when, having entered upon a certain expansive movement in the interest of trade, there has resulted after much outlay a good deal more slaughter of obstinate innocents and a good deal less trade than was expected. But, having reduced the survivors to workable submission, the bearer of the white man's burden has to compel them to live in ungrateful peace and prosperity by enforcing law and order and infringing upon unsanitary liberty and indolence. Having accomplished this he is next confronted with the danger of famine and pestilence through an unchecked increase in population as the very result of his first successful efforts to avoid these evils. This is the untoward outcome of peace and prosperity in India, and is almost certain to be the ultimate result of good government in the Philippines.

Meantime the critics of Imperialism in the United States have been making loud and continuous appeals to their famous Declaration of Independence. That unfortunate document has been a thorn in the side of the conscientious American in every crisis of his history, and is appealed to by all manner of faddists throughout the United States, and even Canada. Yet few Americans are quite prepared to attack the real issue, to look squarely in the face of that remnant of an obsolete political philosophy and recognize its error. Its so-called self-evident truths, when brought to the test of the historic facts of human nature and human society, are found to be nothing but mistaken guesses. It is quite untrue that all men are

created free and equal, that they are endowed with unalienable rights, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that governments are created to secure and preserve those rights, and that they derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, with all that is built upon these words. So far as these rights and privileges have yet been secured, instead of belonging to man by nature, they are slowly and arduously acquired by him, and to be retained and improved demand constant effort through an indefinite future. As a criticism of the American purchase, conquest and government of the Philippines, or the Spanish West Indies, the appeal to the Declaration of Independence is quite worthless, and it ill becomes any supporter of the British colonial policy to appeal to any such professed principles in criticism of the American policy. Both the British and American colonial expansion may indeed be open to criticism, but it will be almost entirely from the point of view of what these countries owe to themselves, and not from the point of view of the inherent rights of inferior races to govern themselves. Government, in the civilized sense, they cannot give themselves. Despotism they will inevitably get, and it is the only self-conscious kind of government which will command their respect. It is fortunate for them when the despotism is benevolent. But the exercise of benevolent despotism raises very many questions more awkward for the despot than for his subjects, and there lies the expansionist's burden.

Though earnestly hoped, yet it was scarcely to be expected The Joint Commission. that the Joint Commission would succeed in coming to a quite satisfactory settlement of the numerous difficult questions referred to it. The commission has, indeed, been compelled to suspend its labours for the time being, without reaching an ultimate settlement. Yet it is encouraging to know that the shoal upon which it is at present aground, though serious enough in its present and prospective importance, is yet one involving unavoidable difficulties. These difficulties were not created by either the Americans or the Canadians, they were inherited by both.

In fixing the limits between British and Russian territory on the North West coast of America, the better part of a century ago, neither party to the agreement knew exactly what was being described. Little importance was attached by either to the border territory. Twenty or thirty miles here or there were of no consequence in those vast regions. Russia was interested only in maintaining her command of the coast line for fishing and sealing purposes, and this is really the strong feature in the American claim. England, on the other hand, was mainly anxious to secure as extended a range as possible for her fur traders operating from the East. In the course of time Canada

inherited from the Mother Country the British rights, while the United States obtained by purchase the Russian rights. The difficulty of applying accurately the terms of the treaty to the actual physical features of the country, came out only when it was necessary to make a definite survey. No satisfactory settlement had been reached before the recent mining developments in the Klondyke, when the exact location of the international boundary suddenly became all-important. In the case of two strongly protectionist countries like the United States and Canada, the national advantage in the matter of furnishing supplies to the mining regions naturally became the centre of the whole difficulty. This again turns upon the question as to the command of the routes, with the custom houses on them, by which the mining regions may be reached. To most fair-minded people the settlement of such a complex question would suggest very great difficulties. There are two sets of persons, however, to whom this matter presents little or no difficulty. These are the rival Canadian and American traders, and those associated with them in furnishing mining supplies. Their private interests shed a clear and steady light upon the whole subject, enabling any one with a properly instructed mind to see at a glance what the only admissible settlement must be. It matters not that the rival interpretations are as nearly as possible the antitheses of each other. Each is taken to represent for its respective state the natural and unquestionable national claim, devotion to which is the test of patriotism. Under such circumstances the only outcome of the negotiations that would satisfy either party must involve the complete backdown of the other nation. The Joint Commission, not being composed of diplomats, but of practical politicians whose opponents would gladly make political capital out of any concessions granted, it was plainly impossible for them to come to any satisfactory compromise in a matter so widely disputed. Recognizing this the members of the Commission, apparently on the best of terms with each other, retired from the field for a time, leaving this particular question to be taken up by the slower, more obscure, but more certain methods of diplomacy.

On one point, however, the American Commissioners may be fairly open to criticism. Though admitting the principle of arbitration as a means of settling the Alaskan boundary, they were unwilling to accept a board of arbitrators in which a European umpire should preside. This was very significant, for never before, in a dispute with Britain, have the Americans hesitated to accept such an umpire, and they certainly have no reason to complain of having suffered from past awards. Now, however, they evidently suspect that in consequence of the late Spanish war, and of the suspicion with which their active entry into inter-

national politics is regarded by the nations of Europe, they are not likely to find their territorial disputes regarded with as friendly an eye as formerly. Again, their proposal to leave the matter to a board of arbitration, composed of an equal number of British and American representatives, was a shrewd move. It evidently counted upon the balancing, in the imperial mind of the British members, of a sacrifice of something on the Alaskan frontier for the gain of something greater in another part of the world. This might, indeed, be good policy for the Empire at large, but it would be poor consolation for Canada in particular. So far American shrewdness was well evidenced. But the proposal to select an umpire from one of the South American States, if proposed as a serious alternative, and not merely as a formal means of blocking the Canadian proposal, is a serious reflection on the judgment and finer sense of humor of the American Commissioners.

S.

The Postmaster General is to be congratulated on the <sup>Recent Postal Improvements.</sup> cessions which he has made to the general public during the past year. An event which will find a place in history is the institution of interimperial penny postage in December last. The octogenarian in this country who recalls the several shillings which in early days he had reluctantly to spend in having each letter forwarded from his new found home to his anxious friends in the old land, can appreciate the march of events which has led onward to a penny stamp performing the same duty now. Not less important, however, to Canadians was the fulfilment on the 1st day of January last by Mr. Mulock of his promise of a two cent rate within Canada and to the United States.

The special letter delivery system affects only letters intended for the larger cities, and permitting advertisements on both sides of postal cards is a concession to merchants, but the postal note, the introduction of which I have advocated for years, concerns the public at large, and, as anticipated, is proving a great convenience to those who have to remit small sums, and its simplicity is a relief from the cumbersome money order system.

Following closely on the reduction in letter postage is the abolition of fourth-class matter, and the relegation of parcels to what has hitherto been fifth-class matter. The rate will now be one cent per ounce instead of six cents for each four ounces, but there is imposed the condition that the parcel shall be open to inspection. It was possible previously to send parcels as fifth class matter, but the general public was probably not aware of this, as the Post Office Guide somewhat conspicuously placed parcels under fourth class matter. This is a reduction of one-third in the rate, and makes the cost of

transmitting one pound sixteen cents instead of twenty-four cents. In this country of magnificent distances we must not expect rates as low as prevail in Great Britain, but a further reduction is needed. It might be possible to make the eastern boundary line of Manitoba the line of division beyond which parcels to and from the east would bear an increased rate. This would enable the Post Office to lower the rate on the shorter distance packages which presently have to bear their share of the cost of transmitting those to the long distance points. What is also wanted is the sliding scale in force in Great Britain, under which there whilst the one pound parcel costs six cents, that weighing three pounds pays only twelve cents, and the seven pound parcel only twenty-four cents. Excepting on parcels to Great Britain, where there is a reduction on every pound subsequent to the first, the question in Canada is simply one of multiplication. A seven pound packet costs the sender just seven times the postage for one pound.

Another improvement not yet in force, but for which I have pleaded for years, will, it is understood, be the subject of legislation during the present session. This is the insurance of registered letters. When carried into effect it will be a great boon to the senders of the three and a half millions of letters which annually pass registered through the Canadian mails, and most of which contain sums so small that the ordinary insurance companies cannot cover them.

There is still needed an effective measure which will entirely relieve the post office from the burden of the unremunerative carriage of newspapers. The true principle would seem to be that which has for many years been adopted in Great Britain, where a sufficient rate of postage is fixed on all newspapers, whether posted from publishing offices or by the public, but it is left open to the newspaper proprietors to make, if they choose, their own arrangements with the railways for transport without being under any tribute whatever to the post office. There is no reason why the Government should carry at a loss thousands of tons of mail matter annually.

A.T.D.



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